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^ *Hala Tameem, 6, during music class at a school in Des Moines. She and her family of seven are the first Syrian refugees in Iowa*

Photograph by Danny Wilcox Frazier for TIME

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What you said about ...

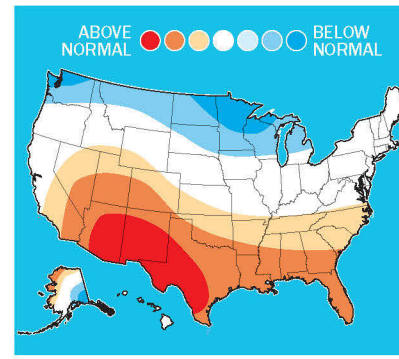
TEENS AND DEPRESSION Susanna Schrobsdorff's Nov. 7 cover story on adolescent anxiety and depression sparked an outpouring of commentary, much of which stressed that the issue wasn't on kids alone. Adults shouldn't "let ourselves off the hook by blaming the Internet, or even the economy" when dysfunction in public life has left kids without good role models, wrote retired teacher A. Lynn Buschhoff of Denver. Adolescent counselor Tom Erney of Gainesville, Fla., agreed, saying grown-ups should be aware of how they contribute to teen stress. "We adults are the problem," he said.

> 'Relevant article to any of us working with (or living with) teens these days.'
>
> STEVE SCHNEIDER, on Twitter

Some psychologists—like Timothy Teague of Waterford, Va., who called the piece "excellent, informative and helpful"—suggested ways to help, like reminding teens and families that, beyond grades, there are a "variety of paths to success." High school student Ishaan Dey of Clifton, Va., affirmed the value of tuned-in adults, lauding his school's work to build a healthy community in which "each teacher, janitor and principal knows we have just as many emotional needs as physical."

> 'With the world we are presenting them, are you surprised?'
>
> BILL CASHIN, on Twitter

Meanwhile, parent and social worker Deborah Zionts of Chicago, while applauding TIME's coverage, wished there'd been more diversity in the subjects shown. The story "missed the opportunity," she wrote, to document that "depression and anxiety also exist within the 50% of the U.S. adolescent population that is male, and 33% that is not white."



WINTER FORECAST Following a year of record heat, the National Weather Service is predicting a wide range of temperatures across the U.S. this winter *(above)*. TIME has turned that forecast into a graphic look at the cold—or not so cold—months to come. See more, plus precipitation and drought maps, at **time.com/winter-2016**

BONUS *TIME* HEALTH

Subscribe to TIME's health newsletter and get a **weekly email full of news and advice to keep you well.** For more, visit **time.com/email**

FUTURE CANDIDATES TIME's photo team scoured the archives to present the lives of Hillary Clinton (left, in 1960) and Donald Trump (right, at age 4) in pictures. See more at **time.com/ClintonGallery** and **time.com/TrumpGallery**

50 BEST APPS
Of all the smartphone apps that were released, redesigned or especially hot in 2016, which ones stand out? Find the TIME tech team's unranked top-50 list—which includes the three below—at **time.com/2016-apps**

VENMO
iPhone and Android, ***free***
Cash-allergic millennials are increasingly reliant on this money-sending app, which, like Google, has turned into a ubiquitous verb (as in, "just Venmo me").

_PRISM
iPhone and Android, $2.99
The ethereal shape puzzles from this trippy app are strenuous but accessible, and accompanied by cool, hypnotic tunes.

STREAKS
iPhone (with Apple Watch app), $3.99
A winner of an Apple Design Award for its revamped 2016 look, Streaks helps users (via phone or watch) conquer bad habits and develop up to six healthy routines by offering gentle reminders.

TALK TO US

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‘THE LAST WORD IS CLEAR.’

POPE FRANCIS, reiterating on Nov. 1 that women will never become priests (the Pontiff has held this position for years but created a commission in August to discuss whether women would serve as deacons, leading to speculation); “Women can do many other things better than men,” Francis added, citing the Virgin Mary

10

Number of months the common swift, a bird, can stay in the air without landing, according to findings reported in *Current Biology*

‘I’m just a headline: the bad President, the bad guy who is killing the good guys.’

BASHAR ASSAD, President of Syria, referring to the nearly half a million citizens killed during his nation’s five-and-a-half-year civil war, including those who died from alleged war crimes perpetrated by his administration; Assad called the characterization a “narrative” propagated by the U.S. government

‘There are no towns left. Everything came down.’

ALEANDRO PETRUCCI, mayor of Arquata del Tronto, one of the towns in central Italy hit by a 6.6-magnitude earthquake on Oct. 30; it destroyed architecture and art dating back to the 14th century and left an estimated 15,000 homeless in an area still reeling from an August quake that killed nearly 300

Pirates
Iceland’s antiestablishment Pirate Party made big gains in its election

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Buccaneers
The NFL team lost its Oct. 30 game despite record penalization of its opponent

‘WHO IS THE THIEF HERE?’

PHYLLIS YOUNG, member of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, denouncing police removal of Native American protesters from the property surrounding an oil pipeline in North Dakota, which the tribe fears could damage its ancestral lands

30%

Percentage of additional time that **African-American passengers wait for an Uber or Lyft car than their white counterparts,** per an experiment conducted in Boston and Seattle by researchers from MIT, Stanford and the University of Washington

$620,000

Price paid for a Hong Kong parking space, making it one of the world’s most expensive

‘That’s one thing y’all can take to the bank.’

BARACK OBAMA, U.S. President, insisting in an Oct. 28 radio interview that his wife Michelle Obama “will never run for office”

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; FINANCIAL TIMES; GUARDIAN; NEW YORK TIMES; SWAY IN THE MORNING

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'THIS FAMILY PARALLEL BACKSTORY MAKES THE CURRENT CONTROVERSY ALL THE MORE SALACIOUS.' —PAGE 10

FBI Director James Comey testifies on Capitol Hill on July 7

BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

ELECTION 2016

Why James Comey couldn't keep the FBI above politics

By Sam Frizell

AS A RULE, LAWMEN DON'T LIKE TO say much more than they have to, and there is not a person who has met FBI Director James Comey who would size him up as less than tight-lipped.

Yet there he was last summer, up on Capitol Hill, telling the world under oath about his upbringing while laying out the painful details of how an investigation into Hillary Clinton's emails had found no evidence of a crime. "I was raised by great parents who taught me you can't care what other people think about you," he said, trying to explain his appearance. "In my business, I have to and deeply do—that people have confidence that the system's not fixed, against black people, for rich people, for powerful people."

By that measure, Comey has had a rough go in the months that have followed. Donald Trump traveled the country denouncing Comey's decision not to indict Clinton as a crooked effort at a cover-up. Then on Oct. 28, Comey inserted himself into the election again, by alerting Congress that new emails had been found and that they could be relevant to the Clinton investigation, though he did not yet know whether there was any new evidence of wrongdoing. The action reopened a deep wound in Clinton's public image, and Democrats reacted with fury. As her advantage in polls began to narrow, the prospect emerged that the words of an FBI director might swing an election.

There is a reason law likes order, and the Justice Department lays out guidelines to protect itself from allegations of political interference by saying as little as necessary about cases

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW HARRER

that end without charges. Comey knows this well. But his bet even in July was that those rules were not built to withstand the terrible pressures of the moment: a governing city at war with itself, a nation awash in groundless conspiracy theories, and bosses who had compromised their own neutrality.

Attorney General Loretta Lynch made the appalling choice of allowing former President Bill Clinton onto her plane for a personal visit, which forced her to agree to take Comey's recommendations in the investigation. Even President Obama appeared to prejudge the investigation in his legacy's favor, saying publicly in 2015 that Hillary Clinton had not "endangered" national security.

Comey's solution for an extraordinary situation was "extraordinary transparency," which often works to soothe political and corporate scandal but can hit snags in criminal justice, where secrecy functions to protect the innocent and ensure fairness. Comey's early transparent pledges created an expectation that he would to keep Congress informed of any future turns in the investigation. That, he says, forced him to alert Congress about the new emails found on a computer used by the husband of one of Clinton's closest aides, who is under a separate investigation for allegedly sexting with a minor.

So it was that a noble effort turned the FBI on its head and opened a floodgate of leaks and partisan recriminations. In the first days of November, federal officials revealed that the bureau decided to hold off on taking conspicuous steps in two other politically sensitive investigations, one into possible criminal activity overseas by Trump's former campaign manager and another into the Clinton Foundation. Officials also disclosed that Comey had opposed publicly releasing word that Russia was responsible for the hacks of Clinton campaign emails. He argued that it could influence the election.

It is easy, in retrospect, to see Comey's decision this summer to testify and speak publicly about a case that went nowhere as the original sin. "Comey put himself in a box he never should have put himself in," says Don Ayer, a former Deputy Attorney General under George H.W. Bush. "You either prosecute and proceed or you shut up."

Several Republicans have joined Democrats in denouncing the prospect of a law-enforcement officer swinging an election with necessarily vague intimations. "They're going to teach this case in law school as what not to do," said Michael Chertoff, the Secretary of Homeland Security under President George W. Bush, who was joined in his criticism by former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Iowa Senator Chuck Grassley and Ohio Representative Jim Jordan.

'The system is rigged when Hillary Clinton is allowed to run for President ... The FBI rolled over, and the Department of Justice rolled over.'

DONALD TRUMP, to Fox News on Oct. 28, prior to the release of Comey's letter

'It's pretty strange to put something like that out with such little information right before an election. In fact it's not just strange. It's unprecedented, and it is deeply troubling.'

HILLARY CLINTON, on Comey's Oct. 28 letter to Congress

"I support calls for the FBI to release as much as it can before the election so that voters can make an informed decision," Jordan told TIME. The Justice Department has indicated it may try to do just that, raising the possibility of yet another bombshell in the final week of the campaign.

Comey's defenders, meanwhile, have argued that those stoking outrage miss the broader stakes for the nation. "There are very few people focused on running a government down the road, and I think he is one of them," says Daniel Richman, a former federal prosecutor and Comey adviser. "The desire to have absolute credibility with Congress is absolutely paramount to him."

A familiar, grim refrain will likely be repeated in the coming months: as bad as things seem, they can always get worse. If it leaked after the election that Comey did not inform Congress of new evidence that might have damaged Clinton, his credibility and that of the election results might have been called into doubt. And there is a high likelihood that over the next four years, the next President will be awash in more criminal investigations of the Executive Branch. The political testing of justice in America may have only just begun.

In the span of months, national divisions have torn at the very fabric of the institutions on which the nation's identity is based: the credibility of a free press, the integrity of a free election process, the ability of political leaders to carry on a debate of ideas. Comey can be counted as one who saw the dangers coming and did what he could to protect the founding principles of the country. Like so many others, he appears for the moment to have failed. —*With reporting by* MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON ◻

TICKER

Russian warships off Syria's coast

Eight Russian warships approached the eastern Mediterranean on Nov. 2, raising fears that Russia and Syrian President Bashar Assad's regime are planning a large-scale, final assault on rebel-held parts of Aleppo.

Pipeline blast sends gas prices soaring

Gas prices briefly spiked in the U.S. after a pipeline that supplies much of the Southeast with gasoline exploded on Oct. 31. Alabama Governor Robert Bentley declared a state of emergency amid fears of widespread gas shortages.

Male birth control highly effective

Hormonal birth control injections for men are 96% effective in preventing pregnancy, according to a new study. But research was cut short after test subjects complained of muscle pain, mood disorders and acne.

'Green-eyed girl' held in Pakistan

An Afghan refugee whose iconic portrait was on the cover of *National Geographic* in 1985 was arrested in Pakistan on fraud charges. Sharbat Gula's arrest comes as Pakistan cracks down on fake IDs in an attempt to deport some of its 1.4 million Afghan refugees.

RUBBLE IN THE JUNGLE The remains of makeshift shelters are heaped on the sands of Calais on Oct. 31, after authorities demolished the "Jungle" migrant camp in northern France that had housed at least 6,000 people. President François Hollande said Nov. 1 he would not allow the settlement to be rebuilt, as France and the U.K. quibbled over where 1,500 unaccompanied minors from the camp should be resettled. *Photograph by Philippe Huguen—AFP/Getty Images*

MIDDLE EAST

Lebanon's new leader aims to keep 'regional fires' at bay

LEBANON'S PARLIAMENT ELECTED RETIRED general Michel Aoun as President on Oct. 31, ending a 29-month political stalemate during which the country had no head of state. Aoun's ascension fills a vacuum but provides few long-term answers as Lebanon attempts to avoid a political and sectarian crisis like the one consuming neighboring Syria:

BORDER LINES Lebanon shares a border and a long and complex history with Syria, so it was little surprise that Aoun stressed stability in his inaugural remarks, saying he wanted to avoid "regional fires." Aoun also promised to combat terrorism and to push Syrian refugees in Lebanon to return to their country. More than 1 million Syrians are currently in Lebanon, a country of only 6.2 million.

SHIFTING ALLIANCES An 81-year-old Maronite Christian and an ally of the Shi'ite-led militant group Hizballah, Aoun embodies the contradictions of Lebanon, where politics is still shaped by the legacy of the multisided civil war that pitted Maronites against Palestinian-led militias. He went into exile in 1991 for 14 years after his forces failed to expel the Syrian military from Lebanon. Now he's in a coalition with Hizballah, which is fighting alongside Syria's regime.

REGIONAL IMPACT Aoun's inauguration represents a victory for Shi'ite powerhouse Iran in its regional struggle for influence with Saudi Arabia, whose leaders supported a rival candidate. But his election is also the result of long negotiations among Lebanon's local political forces. With the key power blocs entrenched in their positions, few expect major reforms to the dysfunctional government. —JARED MALSIN

Michel Aoun lived in exile for 14 years while Syria occupied Lebanon

DATA

WHERE PEOPLE DON'T GET ENOUGH SLEEP

A study by Aviva ranked 13 countries by how little sleep their residents claim to get. Here's how many said they weren't getting enough shut-eye in a sampling of countries:

1. U.K. 37%

4. U.S. 31%

5. Singapore 28%

8. Poland 24%

10. Turkey 17%

13. India 9%

AFGHAN GIRL: STEVE MCCURRY—NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC/NEWSCOM; GETTY IMAGES (2); MIDDLE EAST: RATIB AL SAFADI—ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

TICKER

Iowa cops shot dead in 'ambush'

Two Iowa police officers were fatally shot as they sat in their patrol cars on Nov. 2 in what authorities described as unprovoked, "ambush-style attacks." A 46-year-old local man, Scott Michael Greene, was taken into custody.

Grisly death sparks Morocco protests

Antigovernment protests erupted in Morocco after a fish vendor was fatally crushed by a garbage-truck compactor while trying to retrieve his merchandise, which had been thrown away by police. Authorities in Morocco, where organized dissent is rare, arrested 11 people in connection with the incident.

CNN axes strategist over debate leak

Democratic leader Donna Brazile left her post as an analyst at CNN after hacked emails showed she had given Hillary Clinton's campaign a heads-up that there would be a question about the Flint, Mich., water crisis at a primary debate.

Wild elk back in South Carolina

For the first time since the 1700s, a wild elk has been spotted in South Carolina. Elk disappeared from the state centuries ago because of overhunting and habitat loss.

THE RISK REPORT

South Korea's familial presidential family scandal

By Ian Bremmer

THERE ARE POLITICAL SCANDALS, THERE are odd political scandals, and then there's whatever is happening in South Korea. The controversy centers on the murky relationship between President Park Geun-hye and an old friend named Choi Soon-sil. Park is accused of providing Choi with access to classified information. Choi is accused of using her personal connection to Park to embezzle large amounts of money. Park has publicly apologized for sharing sensitive documents with Choi, who has so far denied wrongdoing.

But it's the family history behind the controversy that makes this story so strange. President Park is the daughter of Park Chung-hee, the military strongman who essentially created modern South Korea in the 1960s and '70s. During his presidency, Choi Tae-min, a controversial cult leader, became a spiritual adviser to the Park family—and to the President's daughter in particular. Choi Soon-sil, the woman at the center of the current storm, is Choi Tae-min's daughter. Park Chung-hee was assassinated in 1979, and some have claimed that the killing was inspired by fear of Choi Tae-min's Rasputin-like influence on him. This family parallel backstory makes the current controversy all the more salacious. Opposition parties demand a formal investigation. Protests have erupted in Seoul.

President Park will finish her term as scheduled in February 2018. But she won't accomplish much between now and then. Her economic reform agenda has gone nowhere, and she won't have the strength to prevent opposition parties from enacting plans to reduce the huge power of *chaebols*, South Korea's family-owned business conglomerates.

> President Park will finish her term in 2018. But she won't accomplish much between now and then

Relations with Washington won't suffer much damage. The increasing nuclear threat from North Korea ensures that deployment of a U.S.-made high-altitude missile battery will be completed by the end of next year. Relations with Japan are more complicated. Late last year, Park and Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe agreed to resolve a long-running dispute over "comfort women," the Koreans forced into sexual slavery by Japanese occupiers during World War II. Abe agreed that Japan would provide indirect compensation for victims. The Choi scandal may well embolden critics of the deal who say Park is sweeping a national tragedy under the rug. If the agreement becomes an issue in next December's presidential election, relations between the two countries will sour quickly.

For the next election, Park may have hoped that outgoing U.N. head Ban Ki-moon would represent her party and that his victory would extend her political influence after she leaves office. But even if Ban runs and wins, Park is permanently compromised. ◻

POLITICS

Mistaken names

Apple apologized to U.K. citizen Sharakat Hussain for refusing to give him a refund unless he could prove he was not former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein—who was executed in 2006. Here, other offbeat cases of mistaken political identity. —*Tara John*

THERESA MAY

British model Teresa May had to clarify that she was not the country's new Prime Minister after getting congratulatory messages earlier this year. "Shows how ignorant" people are, she tweeted.

TIM KAINE

Tim Kane, who once ran for Canadian office, has received messages meant for the U.S. vice-presidential contender. "Remember … there is no *I* in Kane," he replied.

PETER DUTTON

After the Australian Immigration Minister warned of "illiterate refugees" taking jobs, a New Yorker who shares his name got bombarded with virtual hate. "I'm still not Australian …," he tweeted.

MAY: CHRIS JACKSON—GETTY IMAGES; KAINE: WIN MCNAMEE—GETTY IMAGES; DUTTON: STEFAN POSTLES—GETTY IMAGES

Milestones

DECLARED
By Swedish authorities, the **death of World War II hero Raoul Wallenberg,** who is credited with helping thousands of Hungarian Jews flee Nazi-controlled Germany during the Holocaust. Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, mysteriously vanished 71 years ago. Authorities officially pronounced him dead on Oct. 26 after receiving a request from his family to do so.

SETTLED
A **lawsuit between McDonald's and franchise workers,** for the first time ever. McDonald's has agreed to pay $3.75 million to settle a 2014 lawsuit filed in federal court that alleges hundreds of McDonald's franchise employees in California were duped out of wages and overtime pay.

GROWN
The **U.S. economy,** by the fastest rate in two years. The 2.9% rate of growth in the third quarter of 2016 could make it more likely that the Federal Reserve will raise interest rates before the end of the year. The Commerce Department's announcement on Oct. 28 surpassed the 2.6% rate that economists had predicted.

SHRUNK
Global wildlife populations, by almost 60% in 40 years, according to the World Wildlife Fund. The conservation group said in a new report that populations of mammals, birds and fish dropped by 58% from 1970 to 2012 because of human activity. The organization forecast that the world could lose more than two-thirds of wildlife populations by 2020.

JAMES MACDONALD—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

Canadian voters had to endure only 78 days of campaigning last year

POLITICS

7 ideas from other countries that could improve U.S. elections

AMERICANS ARE UNHAPPY WITH THIS year's presidential election, with two historically disliked major candidates and concerns rising about election fraud and voter suppression. Is there a better way? Here, voting methods from around the world that the U.S. could consider for next election season:

1. ELECTION-DAY REGISTRATION Registering to vote in the U.S. is confusing and inconsistent across states. Currently, only 13 allow same-day voter registration, but making that uniform across the U.S., as Canada does, could lead to a higher turnout.

2. AUTOMATIC VOTER REGISTRATION Oregon became the first state to automatically enroll eligible citizens as voters last year. As a consequence, the monthly number of registrations in 2016 is three times what it was in 2012. Auto-enrolling all voters, as France and Switzerland do, could make elections more accessible.

3. SHORTER CAMPAIGN SEASONS Little wonder many Americans are sick of the candidates—this election will have lasted nearly 600 days by the time polls close on Nov. 8. By comparison, Canada's longest campaign season in recent history lasted 11 weeks. In Japan, campaigns last just 12 days.

4. NONE OF THE ABOVE India and Greece, among other nations, have a "none of the above" option on ballots, allowing voters to indicate disapproval without sitting out the election. In the U.S., only the state of Nevada has this option.

5. RANKED VOTING Australia and Ireland let voters rank their choices. This would allow Americans to vote for a third-party candidate, knowing their second choice might get the vote in later counts.

6. MANDATORY VOTING More than 22 countries around the world, including Uruguay and Australia, have mandatory voting, in which eligible voters can be penalized if they do not cast their ballot.

7. WEEKEND ELECTIONS Some argue that holding elections on the weekend, as Brazil, Greece and many other countries do, rather than on a Tuesday would make it easier for more Americans to visit their polling stations.

—KATE SAMUELSON

ENVIRONMENT

A high-plains showdown over the Dakota Access pipeline

By Justin Worland

ON THE SURFACE, THE DAKOTA ACCESS pipeline looks like any of the dozens of oil and gas projects approved in recent years. The 1,200-mile project is designed to transport hundreds of thousands of barrels a day of crude from vast reserves in North Dakota's Williston Basin southeast across the northern Midwest into Illinois. But in recent weeks, opposition to the project has surged to rival the attention that surrounded the ill-fated Keystone XL pipeline before President Obama rejected it last year. Senator Bernie Sanders, actor Mark Ruffalo, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and legions of Facebook advocates have joined a growing list of opponents to Dakota Access.

ACTIVISTS OPPOSE MANY PIPELINES on the grounds that oil and gas extraction contributes to man-made climate change. What makes this one different is the opposition of the 10,000-member Standing Rock Sioux tribe, whose leaders say Washington never considered their concerns, as required by federal law. The tribal activists argue that the pipeline threatens their primary water source, traverses a historic burial ground and continues a legacy of mistreatment that dates back centuries.

More than a million people have checked in on Facebook "at" the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in solidarity with the cause, but the heart of the demonstration has always been the people who have gathered at the physical site of the pipeline construction, just outside the reservation.

The protesters—a mix of Native American activists and environmentalists—have built a tepee and tent encampment where the company Energy Transfer Partners plans to lay the underground pipeline. The protest has largely been peaceful, though some of the more extreme activists have blockaded a road and torched several vehicles.

Protesters protect a security contractor from other protesters on Sept. 3

A NEW APPROACH
Federal agencies said they would assess how to improve engagement with tribes regardless of what happens with the pipeline

TRIBAL UNITY
Members of more than 300 tribes have traveled to North Dakota in solidarity with the protest

Police have inadvertently given additional grounds for the activists' cries of mistreatment with a sometimes aggressive—and easy to condemn—response. Footage of dogs, military vehicles, helicopters and pepper spraying spread on the Internet, along with stories from dozens of arrested people, including actor Shailene Woodley. The police response has been compared to the infamous use of dogs and firehoses to disrupt peaceful protest during the civil rights movement. "We don't have weapons," says David Archambault II, chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe. "We have people and prayer. We have civil rights and tribal rights."

ALL THE ATTENTION has pushed the issue onto the national stage. Obama praised the activists for "making your voices heard," and his Administration asked Energy Transfer Partners to halt construction while the government reviews the project. Ultimately, however, any decision about whether to revoke the pipeline's permits in the area near the Standing Rock Sioux tribe will likely fall to the next President. Hillary Clinton has acknowledged the issue without expressing a firm position. Donald Trump owns stock in Energy Transfer Partners and has vowed to "scrap" many oil and gas regulations, but he has been silent on the Standing Rock controversy.

For environmental activists, a rejection of the Dakota Access pipeline would boost the "keep it in the ground" movement that calls for a halt to all new oil and natural gas infrastructure projects, which have ballooned in recent decades as new technologies let companies access reserves. The U.S. is forecast to soon become a net energy exporter.

Neither side shows any interest in backing down. Many of the protesters have vowed to stay put through the bitter North Dakota winter. At the same time, construction continues despite the current Administration's request for a pause.

"As with all these fights, you win some and the oil companies win some," says Bill McKibben, the environmentalist behind 350.org. But "they used to win all of them." □

ROBYN BECK—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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LightBox

Reversal of fortune

Men accused of being ISIS militants or sympathizers cower before interrogation by a local Sunni militia in Qayyarah, Iraq, on Oct. 29. As Iraqi special forces entered the eastern perimeter of Mosul, Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi urged ISIS fighters in Iraq's second largest city to surrender or face death.

Photograph by Emanuele Satolli

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The View

'HUMANS ARE COMPLEX CREATURES, DRIVEN BY EMOTIONS BEYOND OUR COMPREHENSION.' —PAGE 19

POLITICS

How the media got smarter about calling elections

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

CBS/GETTY IMAGES

Before the 1990s, media outlets mostly worked alone to call elections (like Nixon vs. Kennedy in 1960, above); now they collaborate

THERE'S A LOT WE CAN'T KNOW for sure before election night: who will vote, who will win, who will refuse to concede. But no matter what happens, we do know that the media—specifically, the Associated Press and the major TV news networks—will play an outsize role in calling the results days before all the votes have been counted.

This has been the norm in America for more than a century. But in recent weeks it has become a point of contention, with Donald Trump claiming that the electoral system is rigged against him, that the media is in on the conspiracy and that he won't necessarily accept the results—unless, he said with a wink, he wins. To bolster Trump's claims, there are plenty of examples of media screwups, like when the Chicago *Tribune* called the 1948 election for Thomas Dewey over the real winner, Harry Truman. Or when the networks bungled the call in Florida in the 2000 presidential election, helping to fuel an electoral crisis.

That was then. Over the past 15 years, under increased scrutiny from Congress, the way in which the media gathers and analyzes voting data has morphed into a roughly $30 million tech-savvy collaboration that relies on more than 6,000 canvassers, reporters, data clerks and analysts as well as the most sophisticated statistical models of voter behavior in history.

It all begins at 6 a.m. on Election Day, when a polling company, Edison Research, dispatches the first of more than 1,000 surveyers to 933 randomly selected precincts across the country. Those surveyers spend all day asking as many as 100,000 voters to fill out exit-poll questionnaires on whom they voted for. The results are then combined with data from 16,000 phone interviews conducted with absentee and early voters. The AP, meanwhile, deploys 4,000 stringers to local government offices in every state to collect preliminary vote counts.

As Edison's exit-poll data and the AP's vote tallies roll in throughout the day, they are keyed into computer programs and checked against a ream of other data points, like historic voting patterns and pre-election polls, to identify statistical discrepancies. "We can see pretty quickly if a number looks off," says Joe Lenski,

executive vice president of Edison Research.

Much of this elaborate system is new. Until the early 1990s, most news outlets relied on their own polling and expansive reporting networks, as well as AP vote tabulations, to call winners. But in the mid-'90s, as newsroom budgets and staffs began to dwindle, some of the biggest outlets joined together to share the expense of collecting voter data on Election Day. The collaboration worked well, for the most part. But it ran into trouble in 2000, when the pollster it had hired to do exit polling, Voter News Service, circulated flawed data—and when, in the heat of election night, the networks got ahead of the AP's vote count. Just before 8 p.m. E.T., they announced that Al Gore had won Florida, citing exit-poll data. By 2:30 a.m., with 85% of the vote counted, they reversed their first call, declaring that George W. Bush had carried the state and therefore won the presidency, prompting Gore to concede. By 4:30 a.m., the networks retracted their call yet again, as the AP's vote tallies showed the Florida contest too close to call.

In the wake of that embarrassment, and under pressure from livid lawmakers, the five major news outlets—ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN and Fox News—vowed to do better. Along with the AP, they formed a new media consortium, the National Election Pool (NEP). They hired a new pollster. They pledged before Congress never to use their exit-poll data to characterize a state race before all the polls had closed. And they overhauled their entire Election Day reporting protocol.

Now, instead of sending exit-poll data directly to newsrooms, where there would be pressure to report it, NEP members create quarantine zones: two special rooms, in New York and Washington, where phones, computers and all other technology are banned. On Election Day, they're filled with small teams of data analysts from each NEP member, who debate the validity of the data and correct for polling errors or shifting demographics. Just before prime time, the quants emerge to brief their outlets' political directors and bureau chiefs, who then share the burden of making the hard calls. If the polls are closed with 85% of the vote counted and a candidate has a less than 10% chance of getting the votes needed to clinch victory, do you make the call—or do you wait until all the AP's vote tallies are in, which can take all night?

Because elections tend to follow predictable voting patterns, many argue that these processes are overly wrought. But in an election where the fabric of our democratic process has been called into question, caution is in order, says Roger Tourangeau, president of the American Association for Public Opinion Research. "This time," he adds, "they've got to be absolutely sure." □

VERBATIM

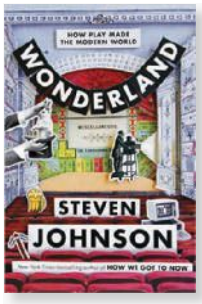
'Victims are not victims, not some fragile, sorrowful aftermath. Victims are survivors, and survivors are going to be doing a hell of a lot more than surviving.'

THE WOMAN WHO WAS SEXUALLY ASSAULTED BY EX-STANFORD SWIMMER BROCK TURNER, writing anonymously in *Glamour* about how she discovered a newfound strength after the public outrage at her assailant's relatively short jail sentence. (He was sentenced to six months and served three.)

BOOK IN BRIEF

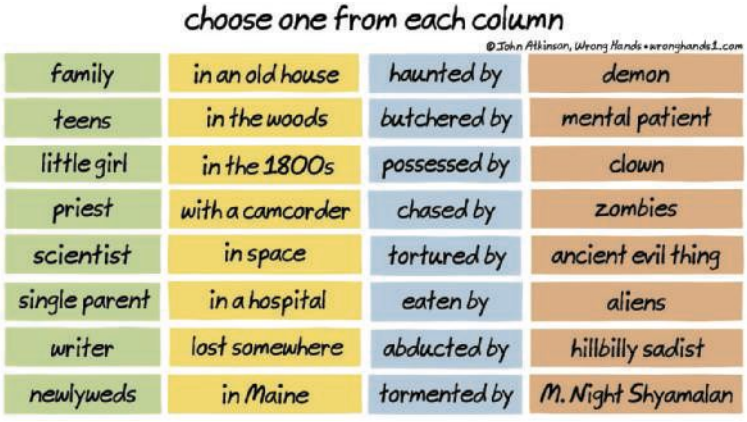
Triviality is the mother of invention

MODERN INVENTION IS OFTEN conveyed as a march toward progress, led by diligent workers trying to make the world a better place. But in his new book, *Wonderland: How Play Made the Modern World,* Steven Johnson argues that many of society's greatest advancements started as jokes and games. Consider the mechanical flutes and peacock-shaped soap dispensers that scholars say were popular in the Middle Ages; the gadgets were trivial, but the mechanical processes invented to power them would later be used to make robots, steam engines and more. Similarly, the technology behind automatons like dancing dolls, popular around the turn of the 19th century, inspired Charles Babbage to invent the Analytical Engine, widely considered to be the first programmable computer. Looking for a glimpse of the future today? More often than not, Johnson concludes, you will find it "wherever people are having the most fun." —SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Horror-movie plot generator



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

BIG IDEA

The open-top submarine

Divers can travel only as fast as they can swim, which often makes it difficult to do important ocean research—and look for buried treasure. Not so with the Mk. 1C, an electric submersible designed by Dutch company Ortega to take up to three divers (with their own breathing apparatuses) through the water at up to 9.2 m.p.h. Because it doesn't have a pressurized chamber, it can't dive nearly as deep as traditional submarines. But its open top enables passengers to hop out at will, and its speed creates what Ortega co-founder Filip Jonker calls "a total James Bond experience" in the water. *—Julia Zorthian*

BIG IDEA: ORTEGA

VIEWPOINT

Why physical things matter in a digital world

By David Sax

IF SILICON VALLEY HAD ITS WAY, ALL humans would have abandoned analog products by now. We'd be consuming music from the cloud (instead of on tapes or discs), reading stories online (instead of in books) and sketching notes and designs on battery-powered devices (instead of in notepads). And indeed, many of us do.

And yet, apparently, we've also started an analog revolution. Sales of objects like vinyl records, paper notebooks and even board games have consistently grown over the past decade, as has their cultural relevance. Meanwhile, big brands in e-commerce, including Warby Parker and Amazon, are rushing to open the very brick-and-mortar stores they promised to supplant.

What's driving this switch? Many assume it's nostalgia, led by the wistful romance of aging Luddites. But in fact, many of analog's newest fans are millennials drawn to its raw utility—the designer who uses a Moleskine notebook, for example, to sketch out a website's early look.

Opting for less-modern technology might seem to make no sense. But remember that humans aren't machines, tasked with delivering the most logical solution at all times. We are complex creatures, driven by emotions beyond our comprehension. And at its core, the human experience remains a deeply, truly analog one, no matter how many virtual platforms we embrace.

Sax is the author of The Revenge of Analog: Real Things and Why They Matter

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

EPIDURALS MAY REDUCE RISK OF POSTPARTUM DEPRESSION

A new study presented at the American Society for Anesthesiologists' annual meeting found that the more pain relief a woman experienced during birth, the more likely she was to rank lower on the depression scale six weeks postpartum.

2

AMERICANS ARE EATING MORE SEAFOOD

They ate an average of 15.5 lb. of seafood in 2015, nearly 1 lb. more than in 2014, according to a new government report. The amount is still shy of the 8 oz. or more per week—which amounts to 26 lb. per year—that the government recommends.

3

DENTAL CHECKUPS COULD HELP PREVENT PNEUMONIA

People who never go to the dentist had an 86% greater risk of pneumonia than those who get twice-yearly checkups, according to a study presented at a forum of the Infectious Diseases Society of America and other groups, based on 2013 Medical Expenditure Panel Survey data. The authors suggest that regular cleanings reduce bad bacteria. *—J.Z.*

The next President's financial imperative: fixing Social Security

By Penelope Wang

AS PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA ENTERS HIS FINAL MONTHS in the White House, he is clearly looking to burnish his legacy. But there is no sign he will be able to tackle one of the largest financial issues facing the country: shoring up Social Security.

"We've had eight years of lost opportunity to make Social Security structurally sound," says Maya MacGuineas, president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget (CRFB), a nonpartisan nonprofit dedicated to educating the public on fiscal issues. And even after Obama leaves office, the funding problem will likely continue—neither of the presidential candidates has offered a detailed Social Security reform plan. The topic has been barely discussed this election cycle.

Social Security was designed as a pay-as-you-go program, in which taxes paid by current workers pay benefits to retirees and other recipients. But since 2010, it's been running at a deficit, with tax revenues falling short of the benefits being paid out. Unless changes are made, a moment of reckoning will arrive in 2034, when the program's trust fund is projected to run out of money, according to the latest Social Security trustees report. At that point, Social Security will be able to pay only about 80% of scheduled benefits.

Given that most Americans have little money saved for retirement, a 20% drop in benefits would further jeopardize the financial security of many seniors. Today some 60% of Americans age 65 or older rely on Social Security for 50% or more of their family income—the average payment is a modest $1,300 a month. For some 33% of families, the benefit makes up 90% to 100% of their income.

There's a lot at stake for the overall federal budget as well, since entitlement programs are grabbing a larger and larger overall share of federal expenditures. Social Security alone accounts for $1 out of every $4 spent, and Medicare and Medicaid spending make up another 25%. Together these entitlement programs account for most of the future growth in spending, not including interest payments on debt, says MacGuineas.

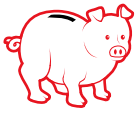
The surge in Social Security spending is chiefly driven by the aging of the U.S. population. The leading edge of the baby-boom generation of 75 million began heading into retirement just as Obama took office. Back in 2009, the nation's worker-to-retiree ratio stood at 3.0 to 1. Today, with more boomers having exited the workforce, the ratio has dropped to 2.8 to 1, and by 2035 it is projected to shrink to 2.1 to 1.

THE SLOW-GROWTH ECONOMY has also played a role in the shortfall. Wage growth for middle-class and lower-income workers has been mostly flat over the past decade, which has damped payroll tax revenues.

On the surface, Social Security appears easy to fix: a simple combination of tax increases, payroll adjustments and perhaps another rise in the retirement age. But nothing involving money in Washington is simple, and all three changes would hit American pocketbooks hard and fast. "Given the extreme polarization today, it would be hard to get consensus on Social Security," says William Hoagland, senior vice president of the Bipartisan Policy Center. "And politicians have had little incentive to tackle the problem."

But time is starting to run out. To close the Social Security funding gap today, payroll taxes would have to rise by 21%, or benefits would need to be cut by 16%, according to CRFB research. Deferring the problem will only raise the costs.

2034
Year in which the Social Security trust fund is expected to run out of funds



80%
Percentage of benefits Social Security will be able to pay retirees once the trust runs dry

$1,300
Average monthly amount Social Security pays out to retired Americans

STILL, IF HISTORY is any guide, it will take a crisis before changes are made. The last time that happened was in 1983, when the program faced an immediate disruption in benefits. Congress reached a bipartisan compromise that cut benefits and raised payroll taxes, with many of those changes phased in over decades. "It's easier to accept major reforms if they are made gradually," says Eugene Steuerle, a fellow at the Urban Institute.

All of which leaves a huge challenge on the desk for whoever becomes the next President. Hillary Clinton favors expanding the program by offering credits to people who drop out of the workforce to care for family members. To pay for this, she has mentioned only raising the ceiling on income subject to the payroll tax (which is $118,500 now and scheduled to rise next year to $127,200) and increasing taxes on wealthier Americans. Donald Trump has not offered specific plans to help fund Social Security beyond promising faster economic growth.

The lack of attention to retirement issues during this election cycle is worrisome. If the next President doesn't move Social Security to the top of the priority list, it means that sharp benefit cuts and tax hikes look more inevitable. Let's hope that doesn't happen. The future of millions of Americans depends on saving Social Security.

Wang is an editor at large at Money *magazine*

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Jessamyn Stanley, Internet yogi

One of the most popular practitioners of yoga on Instagram has grown an enormous following, with fans around the world flocking to her sold-out classes

By Mandy Oaklander

LIKE MOST EXERCISE, YOGA LOOKS BETTER ONLINE THAN in real life. On Instagram, for example, yoga is a patchwork of pink sunrises, green smoothies and thin, bendy, barely-clad beings standing beatifically on their heads. Not pictured: the sweaty, awkward struggle to get into a pose. Missing, too, are other types of bodies that love yoga.

Thirty-six million people practice yoga in the U.S., and Jessamyn Stanley knows they cannot all be size 2. For years, the 29-year-old big-bodied woman has posted photos of herself doing challenging yoga poses paired with an equally challenging message: larger women can practice yoga while, at the same time, loving their bodies. Like her skinnier yoga peers, Stanley wears cute sports bras, lemon-hued two-pieces, tight booty shorts and, sometimes, nothing at all. Yet despite her size, her sailor's mouth and her self-identification as a "fat femme," Stanley is more Internet-famous than most of them. With more than 232,000 followers on Instagram, she's one of the most-followed yogis online. "It's very important to me that fat people have a space where they feel like it's O.K. to be athletic," Stanley says. "If you can help people get to a place where they feel more comfortable with themselves, then that's amazing."

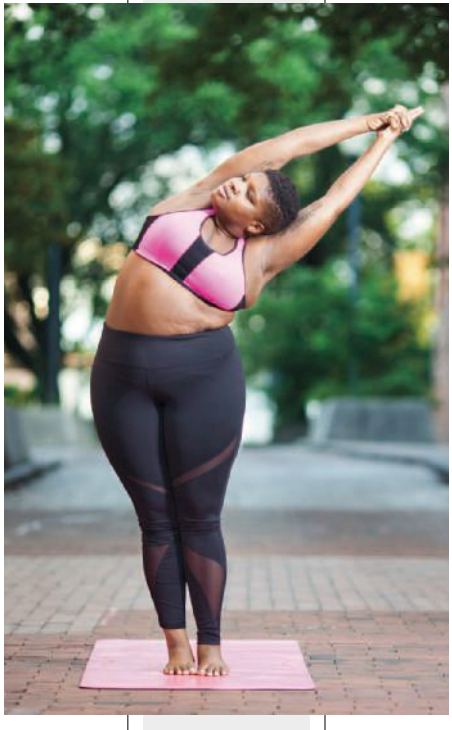
BEING AN ONLINE YOGA POWERHOUSE is the last career Stanley pictured for herself. She took her first hot-yoga class when she was a 16-year-old in North Carolina, at the urging of her aunt. "I hated it," she says. "Everything about it was just dreadful: the heat, the poses, the breathing. I thought I was going to die." She swore it off.

But during graduate school, where she focused on performing-arts management, she tried again. Yoga was just as hard, just as hot and just as humiliating. "I was watching all the other people moving through it with ease, and I was the largest person in the class," Stanley says. "I was so aware of myself." But she also felt a new confidence. The mat was a refuge from depression over her weight and family trauma, which had plagued her for years. Yoga made her feel like she could push past boundaries, and Stanley decided that she didn't care what anyone else thought.

Hooked, Stanley left grad school and moved to Durham for culinary school, while practicing yoga at home. To solicit technical feedback from instructors, she started posting photos of herself doing yoga in her apartment—shoes and scarves stuffed in a corner, a pink mat rolled out on the carpeted floor. But others quickly took notice. "The comments I was getting were like, 'Wow, I didn't know a fat girl could do yoga!'" Stanley says. "That's a problem, because there are so many fat women who do yoga. I'm far from the first person."

ADVOCACY OFF THE MAT

BETTER GEAR Athletic-wear companies are expanding their size ranges, thanks in part to Stanley, below



BODY POSITIVITY Stanley works with the 67% Project, which aims to make plus-size women more visible in media images

ALTHOUGH BODIES shaped like Stanley's are common in America, showing them is not. A study this year of 100 top Instagram posts hashtagged #yoga revealed that 86% of those pictured had a thin, fit body. Only two people who used the hashtag were classified as overweight (one was Stanley). "Fat women are taught to wear their baggiest clothes that hide their body as much as possible to exercise, because nobody wants to see it," she says.

Yet when Stanley started showing as much of herself as possible—belly, thighs, butt and all—her follower count swelled. Fitness brands clamored to sponsor her. Students from Seattle and London and Dubai asked her to teach them, and Stanley became a certified yoga instructor. Now she travels for teaching and wrote a book, *Every Body Yoga,* out next spring.

Fans can't seem to get enough. In one recent photo, Stanley is posing for the camera in a fuchsia sports bra and black leggings. "Frankly, I just want to live in a world where plus-size women are not afraid of their own bodies," she writes. "We're curvy goddesses—ass-kicking amazons, even. It's time to show off *that* reality." ◻

> 'Frankly, I just want to live in a world where plus-size women are not afraid of their own bodies.'

COURTESY JESSAMYN STANLEY

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Closing argument: why Hillary Clinton is the only choice to keep America great

By Joe Klein

"IT IS THE JOB OF EDITORIAL WRITERS," THE LATE, GREAT Murray Kempton once observed, "to come down from the hills after the battle is over and shoot the wounded." I've been thinking about that as publication after publication has come forward to endorse Hillary Clinton for President—including some that have never made an endorsement before and others that have never endorsed a Democrat. Well, sure: Donald Trump is unendorsable. There hasn't been a major-party candidate less fit for the presidency in American history.

I've never actually endorsed a candidate. It's not my job. Endorsements are official. They are the prerogative of ownership. But I want to be clear in this crucial year: I will be voting for Hillary Clinton on Nov. 8.

I will be voting for Hillary Clinton on Nov. 8

NOT HAPPILY, even though I've known her for a long time, known her to be hardworking, intelligent, moral and sane. Not happily, because I sense that she has been too severely damaged in the course of the 30-year battering she's received at the hands of extremists and the media. She may be too defensive now to be courageous in office. Her reignited email scandal reminds us that the Clintons come fully equipped with a menagerie, a clown show of paranoid retainers, some of whom should be allowed nowhere near the Oval Office. Clinton is a reminder, too, of the reflexive entitlement that comes with dynastic politics. The Democrats, in general, seem stale. They represent a boundless faith in government that doesn't acknowledge the corroded inefficiencies of our current system. They practice a form of identity politics—special treatment for special groups—that can be easily perverted, a vulnerability Trump has been exploiting all year.

After all, how far is Trump's sense of systemic ethnic depredation—Mexicans as rapists, Muslims as terrorists—from Clinton's view of systemic prejudice, with blacks, Latinos, women, as the victims? They exist on the same spectrum: group identity as more definitive than individual character. Trump's use of the word *the* is implicitly vile: "the blacks," "the Hispanics," "the Muslims," "the women" and, yes, even "the veterans." His stereotypes deny the fabulous array of opportunities that America provides. I'm not sure how real his pessimism—or much else about him—is, but it is ugly and dark in a way this country shouldn't be.

There is one part of Trump that is indisputably real: his ego. He is personal freedom gone off the rails, a peculiarly American disease. When I think of Trump as a businessman, I think of my father, also a businessman, who would sooner forgo a family vacation than stiff a contractor. When I think of Trump as a celebrity, I think of my daughter forcing me to watch an episode of *Jersey Shore* some years ago because "you can't believe how awful they are." Trump doesn't live in the same universe as Harry Truman. He belongs to the same universe as Snooki. And his supporters know it: They take vengeful pleasure in his profound lack of seriousness. They protest complexity. Why can't we take Mosul in three days? Why can't we have manufacturing jobs and cheap goods at Walmart at the same time? Why can't we just have immigrants from Europe?

Trump, then, is about all that has gone wrong in our society, and nothing of what has gone right. He is about putting his name on buildings he doesn't own, about not paying his taxes, about a charitable foundation that spends its money on self-aggrandizement, about beauty pageants where he can invade dressing rooms and ogle nude teenagers. He has even debased the notion of luxury, with his gilt parody of the good life. He does not read. He doesn't have the patience to be briefed—or, worse, to discern between reality and crazy conspiracy theories, between propaganda and truth. His acceptance of Russia's attacks on our electoral system is unprecedented and outrageous. He upends stability because he doesn't know enough to value it. Those who would put Clinton's failings in the same league as Trump's depravities are delusional.

FROM THE START, people have said to me, Well, O.K., Trump is about as honest as his hair, but he's touching a very real nerve out there. True. He is the avatar of easy answers, a leader for those fearful of the unfamiliar. He embodies the notion that engaged citizenship is just too hard for average folks, that compromise is just too complex. He runs, weirdly, against the art of the deal. And he is all ours. He could only happen here. We will have to deal with that, win or lose, after the election. □

JUSTIN SULLIVAN—GETTY IMAGES

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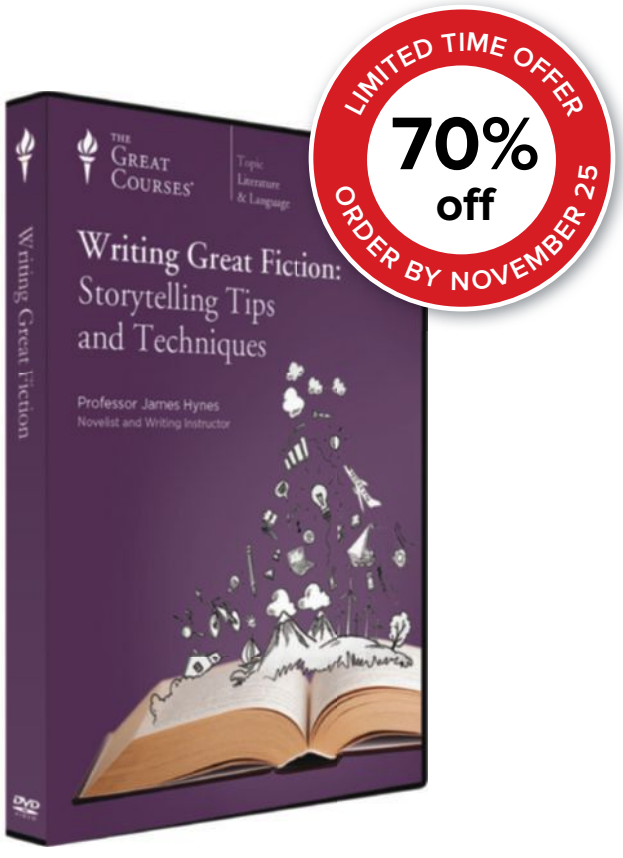

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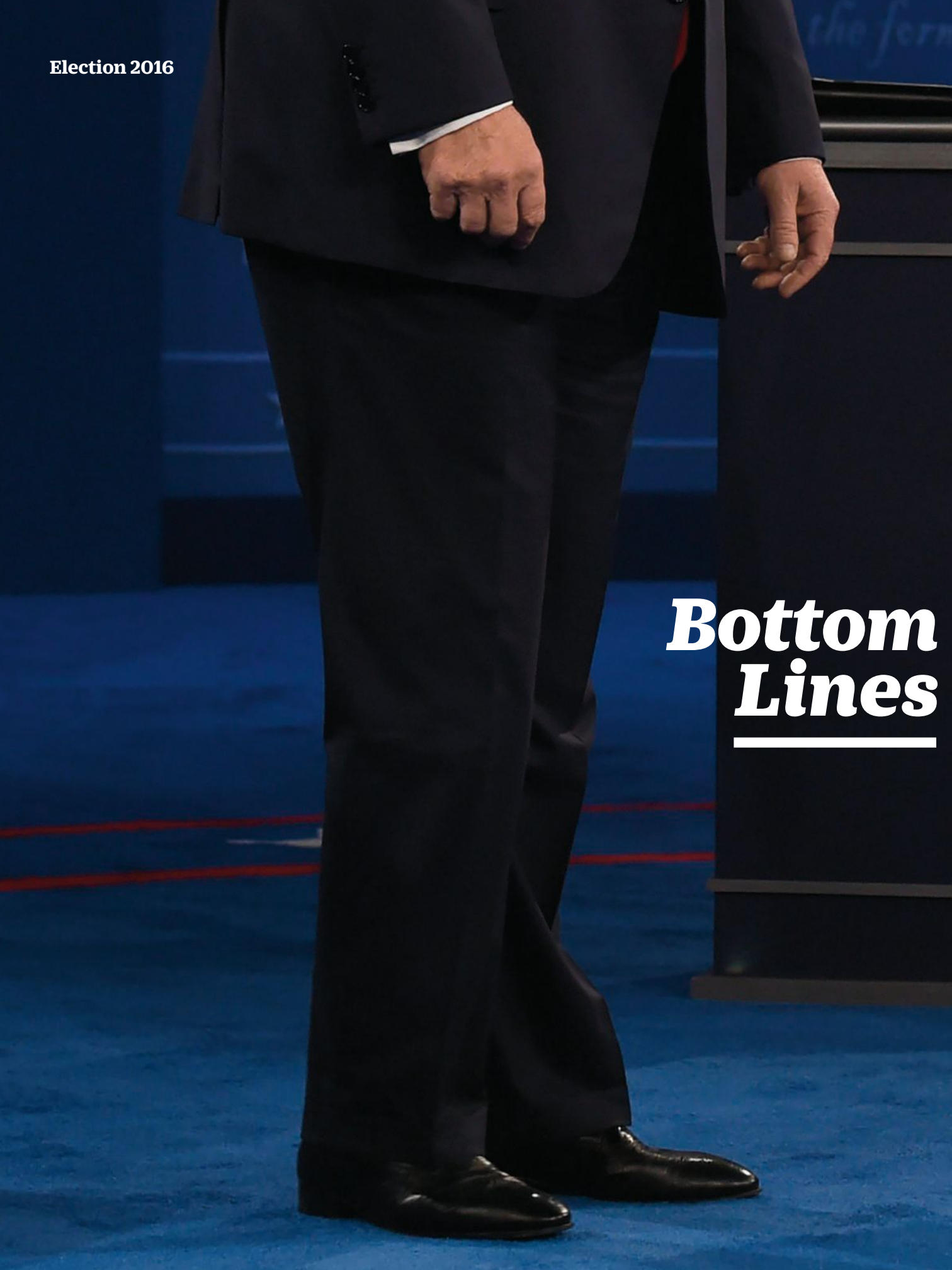
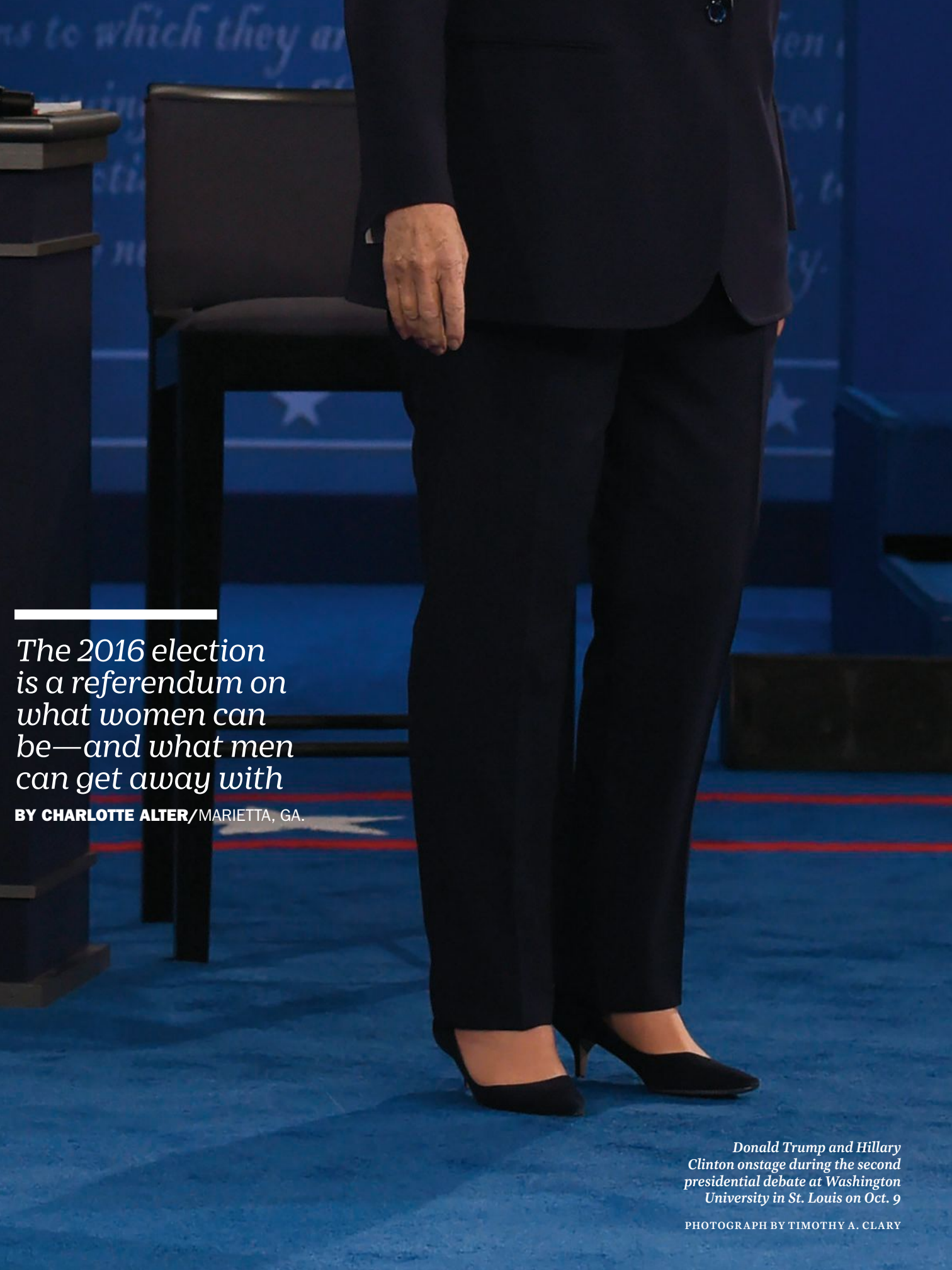


Bottom Lines



The 2016 election is a referendum on what women can be—and what men can get away with

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER/MARIETTA, GA.

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton onstage during the second presidential debate at Washington University in St. Louis on Oct. 9

PHOTOGRAPH BY TIMOTHY A. CLARY

IT LOOKED LIKE A SMILE, BUT LESLIE MCPHERSON was baring her teeth. She stayed silent as the four other women talked across the corner table at Panera Bread near Marietta, Ga., making excuses for Donald Trump. The sexual allegations against him, said one, were just a political ploy to distract from revelations about Hillary Clinton published by WikiLeaks. If someone followed me around with a tape recorder, who knows what you'd hear? said another. Why did his accusers wait so long to come forward? asked a third. He was such a big celebrity, how do we know they didn't want it?

This, McPherson could not take. The smile dropped, the teeth parted. "There has to be a very clear distinction," she said forcefully, her voice an octave lower than the others, "between somebody playing around with somebody that wants to, and something that is totally unwarranted." Adultery is one thing; assault is another. The table went quiet for a second, the air prickled. And the women switched to a topic they all could agree on: Hillary Clinton, the baby killer.

McPherson wears a leather jacket and an air of practical skepticism. An antiabortion evangelical Christian who sits on the city council in Villa Rica, Ga., she has always voted Republican. Until now. "I cannot step over that line," she said. "I am not that desperate." She'll be voting for a third-party candidate this year.

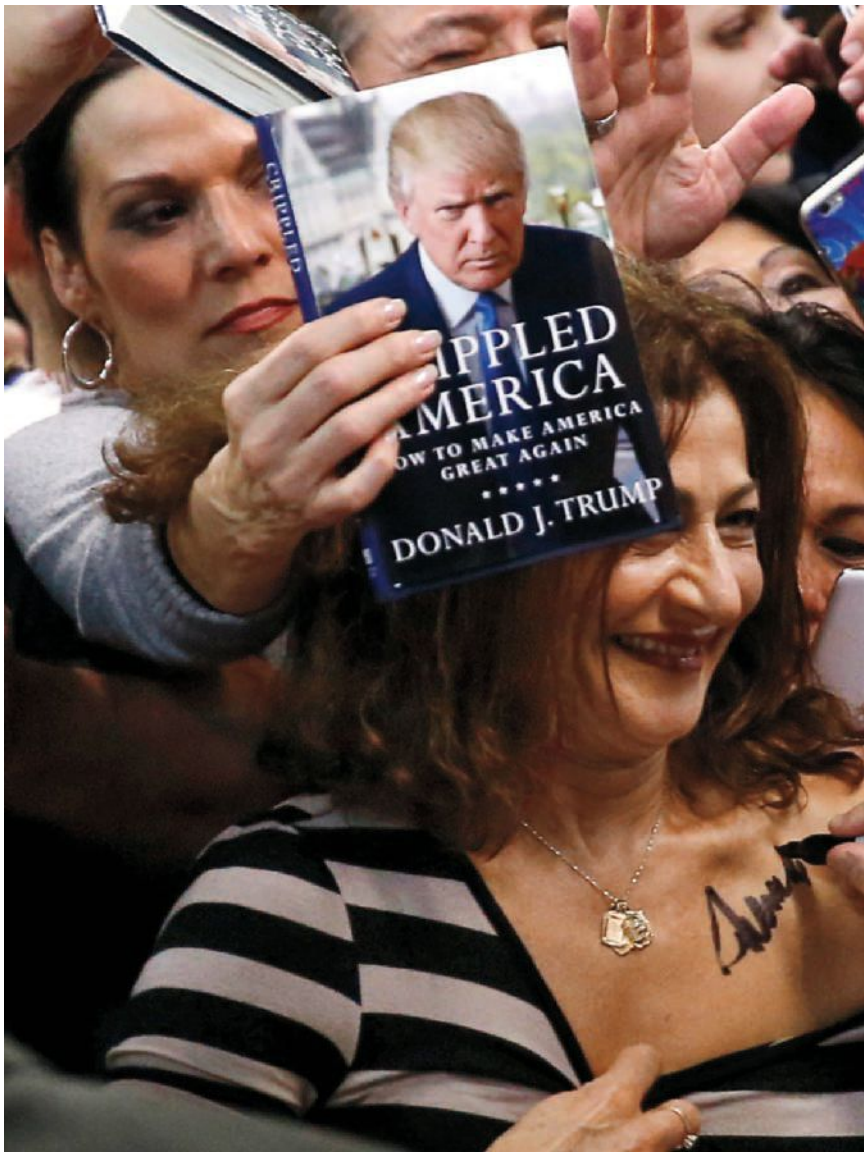
This hesitation could provide an ironic final twist to a campaign that has been fought largely outside the bounds of normal rhetorical restraint. The same Donald Trump who has encouraged violence at rallies, cast immigrants as "rapists" and mused, "I love war" has been forced in the final weeks to drop his longtime habit of crossing boundaries of sexual propriety, including his past boasts about grabbing women's genitals and kissing them against their will. And yet for all the plot twists in this endless drama, all the explosive episodes regarding race, religion and ethnicity, Trump's behavior toward women could decide it all. Election 2016 is, among other things, a national referendum on the treatment of women. And it's Donald Trump, not Hillary Clinton, who has made it that way.

If the outcome is close—and the polls have been tightening—this election could come down to people like Leslie McPherson: people who opposed Clinton but couldn't bring themselves to support Trump; people who insist on a very clear distinction between acceptable and unacceptable, and don't find an easy choice in either candidate.

These difficult choices recur in interviews around the country, in discussions among political kin, in debates with loved ones. It's why one mother at a Georgia Walmart folds and unfolds a toddler's pink dress as she nervously explains why she can't join her husband in voting for Trump. It's why two lunching co-workers in an Atlanta mall blurt in unison that they won't cast their normal votes for the GOP "because he's Donald Trump."

That doesn't mean they're flocking to Clinton. Even before FBI Director James Comey announced vaguely that his agency was reviewing newly discovered emails on a computer linked to her aide Huma Abedin, Clinton was dragging as much political baggage as any candidate in memory. Her long list of enemies, her reflexive secrecy and the murky nature of the Clinton family business ventures all threatened at various points to derail her campaign in the final days. Then there is the national mood. Barack Obama has a 54% approval rating, yet the vast majority of voters are dissatisfied with the direction of the country, and economic progress for most American workers remains stalled. And only once in the nearly 70 years since the end of World War II has a political party won three elections in a row.

Yet in the final weeks, Clinton kept her grip on a slim Electoral College advantage, and her low favorability ratings stayed higher than Trump's. Clinton has always had a lead with female voters,



INSULT WAR

'Did Crooked Hillary help disgusting (check out sex tape and past) Alicia M become a U.S. citizen so she could use her in the debate?'

DONALD TRUMP, via Twitter at 5:30 a.m. on Sept. 30

Trump autographs a woman's chest at a campaign rally in Manassas, Va.

but her opponent's behavior has opened the biggest gender gap in more than half a century, with 60% of registered voters telling Pew in late October that Trump has little or no respect for the opposite sex.

It's far more complicated than a battle between the sexes. Some women insist that Trump's behavior is irrelevant, while plenty of men, like Arizona Senator John McCain, say the blustery billionaire has gone too far. The biggest decline in Trump support since September came among men, not women.

Both sides have dirty laundry to air. Three allegations of assault resurfaced from former President Bill Clinton's past. Trump's dismissive defense of "locker-room talk" inspired at least 12 women to accuse him of sexual misconduct. The revival of the email issue revolved around the perversions of Anthony Weiner, Abedin's estranged husband, who was indirectly responsible for restarting the FBI investigation. And Trump kept the fires burning with his many gendered attacks on women, their looks, their sexual histories, even their alleged nastiness. In a race that could end with the first female President, the battlefield of 2016 has been fixed between the belt line and the gutter.

'He loves beauty contests, supporting them and hanging around them. And he called this woman "Miss Piggy."'

HILLARY CLINTON, during the first presidential debate, Sept. 26

The challenge the country is facing is how much to value these issues in a referendum on our future. And in a time of historic upheaval, the decision will shape what women are allowed to achieve and what men are allowed to get away with in 21st century America.

OF COURSE, THE TRUMP ARGUMENT is that the question itself is just a distraction. Ivanka Trump has defended her father as an "equal-opportunity offender." He doesn't pretend to "esteem" his opponents. He doesn't "respectfully" disagree. He pays little lip service to the idea that "we're all in this together." Prisoners of war make poor heroes, the Pope is "disgraceful," and the political press is "disgusting," "dishonest" and "biased." But even against this backdrop, women have always been Trump's favorite targets.

During the first GOP primary debate, Fox News host Megyn Kelly asked him about his treatment of women, citing his use of insults like "pigs" and "slobs." Afterward Trump retweeted supporters calling Kelly a "bimbo" and suggested she had "blood coming out of her eyes, blood coming out of her wherever." He dismissed business executive Carly Fiorina by saying, "Look at that face, would anyone vote for that?" He said Hillary Clinton "got schlonged" by Obama in the 2008 Democratic primary, evoking Yiddish slang for the male sex organ.

His supporters have taken particular glee in these attacks. Buttons blazoned with phrases similar to TRUMP THAT BITCH and HILLARY SUCKS, BUT NOT LIKE MONICA have been best sellers, according to Amy Spetner Doughty, a St. Louis nurse who sells similar political paraphernalia to make extra cash. University of Michigan researchers recently found that sexist beliefs were strongly correlated with Trump support. To his voters, each new attack seemed like a fresh breath in a world stifled by political correctness, and by the end of summer, that strongman swagger had earned Trump the favor of 70% of Republican men.

In the homestretch, however, the bluster turned on him. Trump interrupted Clinton and the moderator 55 times during their first debate, which ended with Clinton raising the story of Alicia Machado, a former Miss Universe whom Trump bullied for gaining weight. Trump hit back by tweeting to his millions of followers that they should check Machado's nonexistent sex tape.

Then came the *Access Hollywood* tape, recorded in 2005, in which Trump was caught boasting that he could "do anything" to women, even "grab 'em by the pussy." Moderator Anderson Cooper asked him about this at the second presidential debate, patiently explaining to Trump that such behavior is "sexual assault." Trump insisted the comments were empty banter—"locker-room talk"—but as women came forward to accuse Trump of doing exactly what he

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; TRUMP: GARY CAMERON—REUTERS; GETTY IMAGES (2)

had bragged about, many Republicans reached their breaking point. Speaker of the House Paul Ryan encouraged down-ballot candidates to cut loose from Trump if they needed to save their campaigns.

The tapes hurt. More than 60% of white female voters called the tape a "big deal" or a "deal breaker," and nearly as many—53%—said they believed the women who accused Trump of sexual assault, according to a Quinnipiac poll taken in mid-October. In that same poll, 64% of white women said Trump had no sense of decency. Past exit polls have taught the GOP that it can win without much support from African Americans and can survive unpopularity among Hispanics, Muslims, immigrants or gays. But it can't win in today's America without strong support from white voters—and more than half of them are women. Mitt Romney won 56% of the white female vote in 2012, John McCain won 53% in 2008, and George W. Bush got 55% in his successful 2004 re-election bid. According to a Fox News poll from Oct. 26, Trump was winning only 47% of white women. As the polls tightened closer to Election Day, Clinton maintained a double-digit lead among white college-educated women and a significant lead among suburban women, both categories that Romney won in 2012.

Count Nancy French among those lost white women. French is a well-known voice of the Republican evangelical-Christian movement who has ghostwritten books for Sarah Palin and consulted on Romney's 2012 campaign. She was never a Trump supporter, but French says the final weeks of the campaign have led her to the brink of crisis. Harassed by alt-right trolls online, she has stopped speaking to old friends and gotten into heated fights at church. In a fiery op-ed published in the Washington *Post*, French came out as a survivor of childhood sexual abuse and broke with the Republican Party and the evangelical movement.

It's unforgivable for "family values" Christian leaders to support Trump in light of the assault allegations, French argued. "Women are viewing this as a betrayal," she says. "If you can endorse Donald Trump, it's the albatross around your neck for the rest of your political life."

Ruth Malhotra, a conservative Christian in Atlanta, shares some of those feelings. Trump has pushed her to a place she never thought she would go: outrage at the treatment of Hillary Clinton. "I think it's disgraceful the way he's talked to her and about her," she says. Malhotra won't go so far as to vote for the Democrat, although she'd rather wake up in Clinton's America than Trump's. She's planning to vote for longshot independent Evan McMullin.

After the third and final debate, in which Trump muttered "Such a nasty woman" as Clinton was making a point, Amy Spetner Doughty noticed a shift in her inventory. She had stopped getting orders for Trump buttons, but she started moving a lot of NASTY WOMAN–themed T-shirts and other pro-Hillary gear. "You could feel how it changed," Spetner Doughty says. "I'm such a small little piece of this, but you can feel the pulse of America."

'Don't you think a man who has this kind of economic genius is a lot better for the United States than a woman?'

RUDY GIULIANI, Oct. 2

FOR OTHER REPUBLICAN WOMEN, that change sounds a lot like hypocrisy. Take Victoria Porter, for instance. Pausing one late-October afternoon after collecting diapers to donate to struggling moms at an Atlanta-area park, the Girl Scout troop leader and a mother of two said she is a survivor of sexual assault—and plans to vote for Trump.

Porter says she resents that Trump's accusers "conveniently" waited until the last month of a presidential election to come forward with their accusations. More important, she can't stand the way Clinton handled the sexual allegations against her husband when she was First Lady. "It's not that Trump's actions don't bother me," she says. "It's that her actions bother me too. Being a woman, it's almost like a higher accountability."

Women are too large a population to boil down

Women listen to Clinton speak during a campaign rally in Central Falls, R.I.

MARY SCHWALM—REUTERS; GETTY IMAGES (2)

to a political bloc, and many resent any implication that their vote should be determined by their gender. Some women prioritize Supreme Court nominees. Some think Trump's words are distorted—even concocted—by a biased news media. Some think Clinton's email problems and the Clinton Foundation are more appalling than Trump's incivility, and some vote on the single issue of abortion.

But over and over, in dozens of interviews over three days in the Atlanta suburbs, Republican women lambasted what they saw as a double standard in the reactions to Donald Trump compared with Bill Clinton. There was not the same feminist cacophony of outrage when Paula Jones accused Clinton of exposing himself, or when Kathleen Willey accused him of groping her, or when Juanita Broaddrick accused him of rape. The same female leaders who rallied around Anita Hill when she accused then Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment fell largely silent when Bill Clinton was accused.

That's the outrage Trump attempted to stoke when he brought Bill Clinton's accusers to the second presidential debate. "Why are we attacking the Republican candidate for something that isn't nearly as inflammatory as something that's been done in the past?" said Toria Morgan, a Trump supporter in Marietta. "He's not been proven to be guilty of anything."

"We can look at him under a microscope and look at her under a telescope," agrees Jan Horne. "That's the only way they can compare them."

To these voters, Hillary Clinton defended her husband and helped him escape consequences, then continued to elude justice by skating past her email scandal. Clinton's critics feel that her handling of classified material—"extremely careless," according to the FBI's Comey—would be enough to get a non-Clinton fired or arrested.

But if Trump expected a pass because of Bill Clinton's tawdry record, he may have misjudged the mood of America in 2016. Things have changed since the 1990s. Just ask Bill Cosby. Rape and sexual assault, once rarely discussed outside the context of violent attacks by strangers, have been front-page news for months.

Major institutions, from universities to sports leagues to media empires, have been forced to wrestle with their own histories of tolerating sexual mistreatment. The notion of affirmative consent—"yes means yes," rather than "no means no"—has become the standard on many college campuses, and the rallying cry of a public education campaign led by Vice President Joe Biden. What was once tolerated in shadows is now regularly condemned in the public square.

'This is disgraceful. It is intolerable. And it doesn't matter what party you belong to—Democrat, Republican, Independent—no woman deserves to be treated this way.'

MICHELLE OBAMA, Oct. 13

FOR SOME VOTERS, lewd language and sexual misconduct have nothing to do with their vote. Dorothy Baskin says she just doesn't care about Trump's "locker room" talk. "I talked to my husband, 'Be honest with me, do men talk like this?' He said, 'Dorothy of course,'" she recalled. "That will not affect my kids or my grandkids, the economy, the military."

But even the areas that seem to have nothing to do with sex have been affected by the gender revolution in 2016 America. Sexual assault in the military has come under greater scrutiny, combat roles were opened up to women last year, and General Lori Robinson recently became the first woman ever to lead a combatant command. And the jobs crisis has converged with the gender transformation. Many of the economic anxieties facing American families are the result of a shift from near total male dominance to increasing female equality. Trump's base—white men without college degrees—find themselves on the bleeding edge of that change.

When Trump talks about jobs, he focuses on a very particular type of work: the less-skilled but well-paying union jobs that have been decimated by technology and globalization. These are the jobs that once allowed American men to support a middle-class family on a single income. Over the

past 25 years, employment in manufacturing and utilities—two fields friendly to men without college degrees—declined by 30% and 25% respectively.

That economic shift has precipitated a masculinity crisis. "This is an election about the loss of the jobs that used to allow them to feel like successful men," explains Andrew Cherlin, a Johns Hopkins University sociologist and author of *Labor's Love Lost*. Seismic change in the economy has "not only lowered their income, it's lowered their sense of self. They can no longer be successful at doing what men were supposed to do."

At the same time, much of the economic growth over the past 35 years has been in areas that require social skills over physical strength. The fastest-growing industries just happen to be dominated by women. Jobs in education have increased 105% while jobs in caring fields like nursing and social work have jumped by 99% since 1990. But "there's a cultural resistance among men to taking jobs that they think are beneath the dignity of a manly man," Cherlin says. "Men have to start taking jobs that they think of as women's work."

Women now make up the majority of college graduates and earn most of the nation's graduate degrees, a change that some experts say may have led to the increased income polarization of the past three decades. With more women getting degrees, more college graduates marry other college graduates. On balance, these are higher earners; they pool their resources and pass them along to a smaller population of more privileged children. The result is a growing socioeconomic distance between families with two well-educated parents and families without a college graduate in the house.

This divide shows up vividly in the polls of Trump and Clinton voters, since wealthy and educated voters tend to side with Clinton. And the tide of change shows no signs of slowing: 23% of married mothers now outearn their husbands, a fivefold increase since 1960, and 40% of households with children rely on a woman as the sole or primary breadwinner. As of 2010, women received 57% of bachelor's degrees and 63% of master's degrees. Female participation in high school sports has increased nearly tenfold since the introduction of Title IX in the 1970s.

Young and educated men are fine with the changes, according to Jack Myers, author of *The Future of Men: Masculinity in the Twenty-First Century*. He reports that a third of men call themselves feminists (compared with 63% of young women in a Washington *Post* poll), while more than half of Gen Z kids grew up in a home where the principal breadwinner was a woman. College-educated men spend formative years on campuses preoccupied with promoting gender equality and preventing sexual assault.

This is the message that the Clinton campaign has used to win over the millennial voters who flocked to Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primaries. "Politics is capturing what's happening in every other place in our society," explains Myers. "This election is defined around the fundamental conflict not between men and women but between patriarchy and feminism."

'When a guy's ambitious and out in the public arena and working hard, well, that's O.K., but when a woman suddenly does it, suddenly you're all like—well, why's she doing that?'

BARACK OBAMA, Nov. 1

'I think the only card she has is the woman's card ... If Hillary Clinton were a man, I don't think she'd get 5% of the vote.'

DONALD TRUMP, April 26

'Just remember, there's a special place in hell for women who don't help each other.'

Former Secretary of State MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, Feb. 6

And the divide is great. None of the volunteers at the GOP headquarters in Cobb County, Georgia, identified herself as a feminist. "We want men to be men and women to be women," said Bobbie Frantz, a Trump voter from Doraville. "We want to be strong women, but we don't want to take over the role of the men."

IN THE FINAL DAYS of this campaign, that divide has turned ugly. Ruth Malhotra, who works for a Christian nonprofit in Atlanta, always thought of her church congregation as family. But recently the friendly faces have turned hostile. As one of the only members who refuses to vote for Trump, Malhotra felt ostracized—screamed at during Bible school, interrogated by church ushers, harassed by fellow congregants on Facebook. People she considered friends or even spiritual mentors have said that they are ashamed of her, that she needs to get right with God, that criticizing Trump will help Hillary Clinton and Planned Parenthood. One woman said that by opposing Trump, Malhotra had sided with Satan.

The silver lining, she says, is the support she's heard from acquaintances on the opposite side of the political spectrum. When her Facebook gets bombarded with hateful rhetoric, her more liberal friends back her up. "It's made for strange bedfellows," she reflects. "It's made me more understanding of people who are not like me politically. And I've started to extend more grace to those views, because I wish the pro-Trump people would extend that grace to me."

When she shared one of the more disturbing messages with a friend, she found herself quoting an unlikely source: First Lady Michelle Obama. "When they go low, we go high," Malhotra told her friend.

Nancy French describes a similar experience in the wake of her abrupt departure from the Republican Party. "I would extend incredible benefit of the doubt to people in my tribe," she recalled, "but I never really extended that to the left." Yet when French published her essay about her sexual abuse and the decision to leave her party, a liberal acquaintance reached out to offer support. The two women had barely spoken since they met on a bike trip years ago, but they made plans to reconnect.

French says she's looking forward to putting aside political differences. "I wouldn't necessarily call her a baby killer," she offers, "and she wouldn't necessarily call me a homophobe." Instead, they'll be looking for a common ground all too lacking in Donald Trump's America. "It's a call for civility."

The ballot box will decide if it has been heard. ☐

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The balance of power: *Senate, House and state races to watch*

BY ALEX ALTMAN

The Senate

Democrats need a net gain of four seats to win a Senate majority if Hillary Clinton becomes President. If Donald Trump prevails, they need five. Polls show they are a near lock to pick up one seat in Illinois and favored to win another in Wisconsin. Senate control will hinge on these seven contests:

Currently the Senate has …

2 Independents*
44 Democrats
54 Republicans

34
of the 100 seats are up for election

10
are held by Democrats, and

24
are held by Republicans

*BOTH INDEPENDENTS CAUCUS WITH DEMOCRATS

Katie McGinty D — **Pat Toomey** R

+4 (POLL AVERAGES)

PENNSYLVANIA

Toomey is trying to tiptoe around a big issue in battleground Pennsylvania: he **refuses to say** whether he supports Trump. The first-term fiscal conservative has **played up his pursuit** of a bipartisan compromise on gun safety as he takes on McGinty, a former White House environmental adviser, in the **most expensive Senate race** in U.S. history.

Patrick Murphy D — **Marco Rubio** R

+6

FLORIDA

Amid pleas from GOP allies, Rubio reversed course in June and **announced he would seek re-election** after all. He's **favored to fend off** Murphy, who beat fellow Representative Alan Grayson in a bitter primary but has faltered since. Facing a cash crunch, Democratic groups **pulled ad dollars** from pricey Florida media markets instead of trying to bounce the GOP star.

Jason Kander D — **Roy Blunt** R

+1

MISSOURI

A top Democratic recruit, Kander has run a strong race in conservative Missouri by **emphasizing his moderate politics and military background.** (In one ad he assembles an AR-15 rifle while blindfolded.) Blunt, a Washington veteran, is trying to thwart the challenge by **casting himself as a bulwark** against a Democratic Senate takeover.

Deborah Ross D — **Richard Burr** R

+2

NORTH CAROLINA

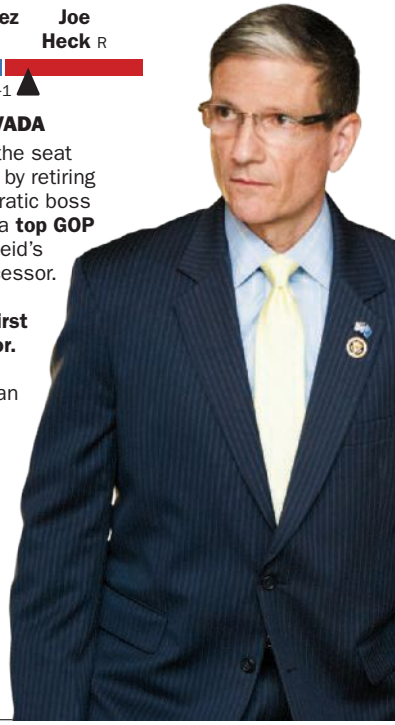
Vying for his third term, Burr has run what some allies regard as **an uninspired race,** jeopardizing his grip on what once seemed a **relatively safe seat.** Ross, a former state legislator and past state ACLU director, **has kept pace with Burr's fundraising** for much of the year. National GOP groups are **scrambling to paint** the Democrat as too liberal for the Tar Heel State.

Catherine Cortez Masto D — **Joe Heck** R

+1

NEVADA

The battle for the seat **being vacated** by retiring Senate Democratic boss Harry Reid pits a **top GOP recruit** against Reid's handpicked successor. Cortez Masto would be the **first Latina Senator.** Three-term Congressman Heck riled some fans by **calling for Trump to quit the race.**



The House

The Democrats need to flip 30 Republican seats to grab control of the lower chamber. GOP-led gerrymandering has created a dearth of competitive districts, making that goal a reach. But the Democrats are poised to make gains, and drama abounds. Here are three big races to watch:

Currently the House has …

186 Democrats
246 Republicans
3 vacancies

435
of the 435 seats are up for election

Evan Bayh D — **Todd Young** R

+2

INDIANA

Democrats **scored a coup** by recruiting Bayh, whose family is Hoosier State royalty. But the former Senator's **political skills are rusty,** and he's been dogged by **questions about his lobbying ties and tenuous state residency** as he tries to reclaim his old job. Meanwhile, outside money **has lifted Young,** a recruit from the U.S. House, into a virtual dead heat.

Maggie Hassan D — **Kelly Ayotte** R

+2

NEW HAMPSHIRE

One of the nation's marquee races is between **two well-regarded women:** Ayotte, a moderate Republican incumbent who says she **won't vote for Trump,** and Hassan, a **two-term Democratic governor.** With Senate control hanging in the balance, the seesaw contest in tiny New Hampshire has **attracted nearly $80 million** in outside spending.

Doug Applegate D — **Darrell Issa** R

CALIFORNIA
49th Congressional District

Democrats are **out for revenge** against Issa, who used his perch atop the House Oversight Committee to **nettle the Obama Administration.** A poor campaign has left the eight-term incumbent in a **tight race** against Applegate, a political novice and retired Marine.

Josh Gottheimer D — **Scott Garrett** R

NEW JERSEY
5th Congressional District

Gottheimer, a former Clinton White House speechwriter, has **raised more than the GOP incumbent,** a founding member of the archconservative Freedom Caucus. Some of Garrett's contributors **cut off funding** amid reports that he made **anti-gay remarks.**

LuAnn Bennett D — **Barbara Comstock** R

VIRGINIA
10th Congressional District

A rising GOP star, Comstock is keeping **her distance from Trump.** This northern Virginia district was drawn as a **safe Republican seat,** but its demographics—wealthy and well educated, with a growing Hispanic population—have **turned the 10th into a toss-up.**

The governors

Republicans enjoy historic dominance at the statehouse level, where they control 31 governorships. Democrats could chip away at that majority by winning races in two red states:

12
of the 50 seats are up for election

Roy Cooper D — **Pat McCrory** R

+2

NORTH CAROLINA

McCrory's first term has been **shadowed by controversies** over transgender rights, voter-ID laws and violent protests following a **fatal police shooting.** Cooper, the state attorney general, **clings to a lead** aided by Democrats' organizing efforts at the top of the ticket.

John Gregg D — **Eric Holcomb** R

+4

INDIANA

With a re-election fight looming, Governor Mike Pence **jumped at the chance** to join Trump on the GOP ticket. Pence edged Gregg in 2012, then **alienated some Hoosiers** by signing a religious-freedom law. Lieutenant Governor Holcomb **trails narrowly** after entering the race late.

NOTE: POLLING AVERAGES COMPILED BY REAL CLEAR POLITICS AS OF NOV. 2. HOUSE POLLING AVERAGES UNAVAILABLE FOR CALIF., N.J. AND VA.

APPLEGATE, GREGG: AP; ALL OTHERS: GETTY IMAGES

The Golden State's big green bet

California is poised to legalize marijuana, potentially transforming the global pot trade. But an unlikely group isn't partaking

BY KATY STEINMETZ/WILLOW CREEK, CALIF.

INSIDE THE BIGFOOT GOLF and Country Club on a cool evening in October, Isaiah O'Donnell, a second-generation cannabis farmer, is making a case that he hopes will get out before Election Day. "As a kid I was taught you don't say what you do, you don't drive a fancy vehicle. You just hide, you deny," he says. "Now we're coming out … But I'm scared if the shelf space is not there for these small farmers who are moving through this process that they will go back underground."

The other marijuana growers sitting around O'Donnell nod, unified in one of the unlikeliest alliances in an election cycle filled with them. On Nov. 8, Californians will vote on Proposition 64, which would legalize recreational marijuana use in the state (medical use has been legal since 1996). The measure has widespread support, with recent polls showing a majority of voters in favor. Yet a number of the women and men who make their living growing marijuana in the Golden State are fighting it, fearing it would allow agribusiness to roll over small farms. "It will take something that's good for a whole lot of people in the state," says pot farmer Ryan McIntosh, "and funnel it straight up."

The outcome will ripple far beyond California. Nine states have marijuana-related measures on the ballot, with Arizona, Maine, Massachusetts and Nevada also voting on recreational use. But experts view the Golden State, which represents the world's sixth largest economy, as a tipping point. Should California vote yes, the market-research firm ArcView estimates, it could help propel the value of America's nascent legal weed market from about $7 billion today to more than $20 billion by 2020. "California is so much the tail that wags this dog," says Sam Kamin, a marijuana-law expert at the University of Denver.

California's outsize clout could help pressure the federal government to change its approach to marijuana, which it still classifies as a drug on a par with heroin. Such a shift could fix issues like banking restrictions that have forced the industry to operate largely in cash. And those changes, in turn, could lead to other states—and even other countries—making the same move.

All of which would seem like welcome news in the Emerald Triangle, as the combined area of Humboldt, Mendocino and Trinity counties in far Northern California is known. With the decline of the logging and fishing industries, marijuana emerged as the region's economic backbone. "It's our culture," says O'Donnell. "I've never known anything else." Humboldt alone has an estimated 10,000 pot-growing operations, one for about every 15 people, and a reputation for the highest-quality product. But many here are terrified that Proposition 64 will drive them out of business.

Their fears are rooted in language in the referendum that would eventually allow growing sites of unlimited sizes—think plantations of several hundred acres that can sell in bulk at low prices. Though corporations remain wary because of federal law, investors are already sending big checks to private-equity firms devoted to the industry. The architects of California's measure want to make sure the state secures its place in a brave new world of legal marijuana.

"We didn't want to shoot ourselves in the foot, saddled by our inability to provide what we need in order to be that world market," says Amanda Reiman, manager of marijuana law and policy at the Drug Policy Alliance, which helped craft Proposition 64. As a result, the measure is poised not just to allow Californians to buy marijuana legally but to position the state as a producer for the rest of the U.S. too.

IT'S THE LAST POINT that has the Emerald Triangle on edge. While the region has its share of drug traffickers who mistreat their workers and clear-cut forest, many growers here see themselves as small farmers upholding a hippie version of Thomas Jefferson's agrarian ideal. "Big Business has no interest in the communities or the families that are supported by the industry at this point," says Stephen Dillon, executive director of the Humboldt Sun Growers Guild, which is housed next door to a lifeless timber mill. He says the 185 farms in the guild are split on the initiative.

State Assemblyman Jim Wood represents the area and helped write landmark regulations for the medical-marijuana industry last year, nearly 20 years after California became the first state to legalize medical pot. He

In the Emerald Triangle, growers who have spent generations in the shadows are worried that they'll be driven out of a legal industry

opposes Proposition 64 in part because of the potential for mass production. "If this blows up to these large, megascale, plantation-style grows," says Wood, a Democrat, "that's going to decimate the economy of my district."

There are signs that those megagrows are likely. Two years after becoming the first state to open a recreational market, Colorado has seen consolidation and the creation of dispensary chains. As large outdoor farms have come online, the price per pound has been dropping "like a rock," says Nancy Whiteman, the co-owner of edibles line Wana Brands: "It's a simple supply-and-demand situation."

California's measure does include a compromise intended to get holdouts on board and keep growers from returning to the black market: farms will be capped at one acre for five years after the first licenses are issued in 2018, which is meant to give smaller players time to establish themselves. But even advocates like Reiman acknowledge that increased competition and regulation will drive out some growers. "We do live in a capitalist society," she says.

Some Emerald Triangle farmers, meanwhile, see an opportunity to become the Napa of weed, providing connoisseurs with a premium, branded product that can sell at higher prices. The farm country north of San Francisco has become one of the world's most famous wine regions, where vintners have waiting lists for bottles costing more than $100. Many also point to the success of artisanal ventures like the craft-beer industry as evidence that the area around Humboldt can carve out a similar niche.

Still, the future looks dire to some. As Wood, the state legislator, puts it, "There are only so many craft beers that can survive." ◻

KATY STEINMETZ FOR TIME

Other big issues on the ballot

DEATH PENALTY
Three states have capital punishment on the ballot. In **Oklahoma,** which temporarily halted executions in 2015 after a series of botched lethal injections, a measure would enshrine the penalty in the state constitution and establish that it does not qualify as cruel and unusual punishment. **Nebraska** voters will have the chance to uphold or overturn the state legislature's repeal of the death penalty. And **California** voters will weigh in on two competing measures: one to speed up the execution process by limiting inmates' appeals and another to get rid of the practice entirely.

MINIMUM WAGE
With the federal hourly wage floor stuck at $7.25, where it's been since 2009, four states are putting increases on the ballot. Measures in Arizona, Colorado and Maine would incrementally raise the minimum wage to $12 by 2020, while Washington's could rise to $13.50. South Dakota, which upped its minimum to $8.55 under a 2014 law, has a measure to exclude workers under 18 from the increase.

VOTING
Maine could become the first state to adopt ranked-choice voting, in which candidates are tallied in order of preference until one earns a majority. A measure in **South Dakota** would establish nonpartisan elections, while **Missouri** will consider whether to require a photo ID for voting—a policy that has faced legal challenges in other states.

HEALTH
Colorado has two measures that reflect the nation's contentious health care debate. Amendment 69 would create a government-run single-payer health care system, funded by a tax hike. The measure, which a majority of residents have opposed in recent polling, would make the state the first to adopt a single-payer system. Coloradans will also vote on whether to let doctors help terminally ill patients end their lives. If the measure passes, Colorado will become the fifth state with a law legalizing the practice.

EDUCATION
In 1998, **California** passed a law requiring English-language-only immersion in public schools. Eighteen years later, as more research shows the benefits of a bilingual education, voters will decide whether to repeal part of the law. In **Massachusetts,** voters may lift restrictions on the expansion of charter schools.

ENVIRONMENT
A ballot measure in **Washington** seeks to impose a tax on carbon emissions from certain fossil fuels—a policy aimed at fighting climate change by encouraging the use of clean energy. Washington would be the first state to impose such a tax.

GUNS
Four states are weighing firearm regulations. Measures in **Maine** and **Nevada** would implement universal background checks for people purchasing guns, while **California** could expand its check to the purchase of ammunition. A **Washington** proposal would allow courts to temporarily prevent people from possessing firearms if they pose a dangerous threat to themselves or others. *—Katie Reilly*

The Syrians Next Door

Two years after fleeing their home, the Tameem family became the first Syrian refugees in Iowa ***By Robin Shulman/Des Moines***

Sedra walks her brother Mutaz, sister Hala (with pink backpack) and a friend to their school-bus stop in the family's neighborhood in Des Moines

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DANNY WILCOX FRAZIER FOR TIME

As the plane descended at night over farm fields,

Ghazweh Aljabooli reached for her 6-year-old daughter Hala. The girl was sobbing, just as she had at every takeoff and landing over the past 30 hours, "My ears hurt!" She wailed it on the flight from Amman to Paris, the flight from Paris to Houston, and now on this final leg into Des Moines. Ghazweh's older children craned to see out windows that revealed only blackness—nothing of their future.

When the passengers filed off the jetway, Ghazweh herded her five children into the concourse and looked around, unsure of what to do next. Her husband clutched a sealed white plastic bag with the insignia of the International Organization for Migration. He had been told to keep the bag visible during their trip: something of a secret code of airports, it signaled at every stop that they were refugees who needed an escort to the next flight. But now there was no next flight, or any sign of help. Ghazweh worried about what happened next—would someone be waiting?

The family followed the stream of tall, sturdy Midwesterners toward baggage claim. And then, at the bottom of an escalator, a man waited with a smile. *"Ahlan wa sahlan,"* he said: "Welcome." Suddenly, Ghazweh's eyes filled with tears. "I was so scared," she said, at the end of a journey that had really begun five years before.

Ghazweh's family had been middle class in Syria, with lives marked by school plays and holiday vacations. But everything was upended by the war that started there in 2011. The family endured siege, and bombardment destroyed their home. The painful decision to flee led to a nomadic month in the desert before they escaped into neighboring Jordan. Two years in limbo followed, as the U.N. processed the family's application for resettlement and U.S. government agencies conducted background and security checks. Finally, on a June night, the Tameem family became the first Syrian refugees in Iowa—only to find themselves on the front lines of another conflict, this one over them.

As battles go, the fight over admitting Syrian refugees to the U.S. is really more of an argument. But it's a heated one that has been at the center of a particularly charged presidential contest. Republican nominee Donald Trump launched his campaign with a screed against immigrants, insisting that Americans needed a wall along the border with Mexico to keep out "rapists" and other undesirables. After terrorist attacks by Islamist extremists in San Bernardino, Calif., and Europe, Trump shifted his ire to Muslims, calling for them to be barred from entering the U.S. He repeatedly singles out as unacceptably risky any refugee from Syria's civil war, the conflict that breathed life into ISIS and sent millions fleeing the country.

Other political leaders have echoed his sentiments. Although the decision to admit refugees is made by federal authorities, 31 governors have said they don't want fleeing Syrians in their states. Iowa Governor Terry Branstad was one of them.

But so far the threat, like the debate, has been abstract. Most Americans have never met a Syrian refugee. Before this spring, the Obama Administration had let in a relatively small number—about 3,000, compared with more than 30,000 resettled in Canada. That began to change over the summer and fall when about 10,000 Syrians arrived, settling in cities and towns across the U.S., where they have been met with a mix of open arms and angry protests. And so for at least some Americans, the debate is about to become far more personal.

"YOU MADE THE RIGHT CHOICE," the man from the airport tells the Tameems. They are in a gray Chevrolet van, being driven toward town. The new arrivals are in a strange new land, it's dark, and the man, Yasir Al Imami, who was born in Iraq and was a refugee himself a few years earlier, keeps up a steady murmur of reassurances. "You made the right choice," he says again. "You will be safe here."

On their first night in America, Ghazweh and her husband Abdul Fattah Tameem are so excited, they don't sleep. Instead, around 3 a.m. they leave the hotel where they have been taken—their landlord is paying, since their apartment is not yet ready—and go for a long walk. "It's so beautiful and so quiet and calm," Ghazweh says. The grassy expanses and the reflective Des Moines River remind them of Homs, their home city, north of Damascus. But in the predawn streets of Des Moines, there are no honking cars, bustling markets, or even people. Only at the end of their walk do early-morning joggers and commuters appear, as the sun rises and lights their pathway.

Al Imami returns in the morning.

Ghazweh and Abdul Fattah at a park in Des Moines with their children, from left, Sedra, Mutaz, Hala, Haidar and Nazeer

As their assigned caseworker with the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI), a nongovernmental resettlement agency, he brings information about Social Security cards, health insurance and school registration. Ghazweh and Abdul Fattah kneel on the hotel-room floor, signing dozens of pieces of paper. They know no English. Al Imami explains that they have six months before government aid runs out and they must support themselves.

"My advice is to start work as soon as possible after we finish the paperwork," he says. Abdul Fattah smiles and nods. "I'm with you," he says.

The kids watch closely. Observant, long-haired Nazeer, 15, is the oldest. Shy Sedra is 13. Haidar, quiet and handsome, is 11. The youngest are twins: Hala and her brother Mutaz.

Paperwork done, they all pile into the gray van to drive to their new home, Abdul Fattah still holding the bag from IOM. They are the first family to move into a former nursing home freshly renovated as apartments. USCRI has rented every unit in the building. Soon it will become a veritable U.N. in America's Corn Belt.

The drive to their new home takes them past a Family Dollar store, rundown apartments, some vacant lots and a decrepit-looking sports bar. "Where are the people walking in the street?" Ghazweh asks. They park in front of a tan, one-story, aluminum-sided building. Abdul Fattah holds open the apartment door, and Ghazweh enters ahead of him. It's a comfortable, freshly painted four-bedroom. The kids run to survey the rooms. Each bed has a handmade quilt donated by a local quilting group, with a stuffed animal on top. "There's a teddy bear for me!" Hala says, beaming.

In the kitchen, Al Imami opens cupboards to show the housewares—some donated, like the Christmas-themed hand towels; some purchased at places

Top, from left: The family gathers for a Sunday meal; Ghazweh, right, rides the bus to an ESL class; Mutaz plays on the couch at home

like Salvation Army. He followed federal guidelines and supplied at least one fork, knife and spoon for each family member. And he stocked the fridge, freezer and cupboards: flour, oil, milk, eggs, rice, halal-beef strips, hamburger meat, four chickens. "I hope you like it," he says, shyly.

In the following days, the house fills with people. An Iowa family, upset about what they see as "ugliness" toward refugees, volunteers to help acclimate the Syrians. A 61-year-old woman named Marilyn Hansen takes down the kids' ages and shoe sizes and solicits bedding, housewares, clothing, school supplies and appliances from her friends. A Syrian professor and her family—one of four Syrian families the resettlement agency has identified in town—stops by to welcome them.

Ghazweh feels overcome by happiness, and then by bewilderment. At 36, she is slight, with enormous, expressive eyes and a scarf covering her hair. She can seem fragile. Then you see her children orbiting around her, and her strong hands, always reaching for one of them, and are reminded that Ghazweh held her family together through war. This new life feels like a dream. "I'm wondering . . ." she says, as though articulating a thought that has been turning over in her mind. "Will we come back to life?"

SHE MIGHT BE FORGIVEN for wondering. Neither Ghazweh nor Abdul Fattah had any idea that the antigovernment protests that began in spring 2011 would spark a conflict that would kill more than 400,000 people and force about half the country's population to flee their homes, including 5 million who left the country. On Haidar's first day of first grade, a tank parked outside the school, shooting. "No big deal, it's just loud," Ghazweh tried to reassure the kids. And for a while, life went on. The children still walked to

Bottom, from left: Haidar, Mutaz and Nazeer play video games; a neighborhood soccer game; family time at a Des Moines park

school holding hands with their cousins; Sedra's class performed Little Red Riding Hood; Nazeer's class visited a farm.

Then snipers started shooting kids. After about a month, the school closed and the children never went back. Hala, then about 18 months old, was diagnosed with calcium deficiency, Ghazweh said. She was supposed to drink plenty of milk and take calcium and vitamin D supplements. But there was a siege, and they ran out of powdered milk. Ghazweh would fill baby bottles with water mixed with cornstarch or crushed biscuits. Plump as a baby, her mother says, Hala became a small, sickly toddler. She arrived in Des Moines with brown marks on her teeth and swollen, bleeding gums.

The twins do not remember a time before the war. They recall the whooshing sound a bomb makes when it drops from a plane. They know that when the bomb lands nearby, the whole building shudders and solid walls can ripple like water. When the shelling started, the family often squeezed themselves into the cabinets under the kitchen counter. At night, all five of the kids would climb into their parents' bed and hide under the blankets. "You want to find a safe place to hide the children," Abdul Fattah says. "But there is no safe place."

Ghazweh and Haidar sometimes had bleeding in their ears from the pressure of explosions, they said. Hala would shake in terror and get fevers. Haidar would pass out. One of Ghazweh's brothers was paralyzed in a bombing, and another died, she and other relatives said.

Eventually the family went to stay with relatives in another city. While they were away, neighbors called to say a bomb had struck their home. That summer, in 2013, they tried to go to Jordan, but the border was closed. They camped out in the desert, waiting—only to give up and go back. Finally that winter they crossed into Jordan and registered

with the U.N. as refugees, an official status granting them international protection. Abdul Fattah went to have his iris scanned so he could pick up regular payments. The neighbors gave them dishes and cutlery. But Ghazweh grew depressed watching YouTube videos of Homs on her phone. "Everything I knew was destroyed," she said.

Jordan, already awash in refugees, was not welcoming. Abdul Fattah was not allowed to work there. Women would elbow Ghazweh in the street and hiss "Syrian," like an epithet. The Jordanian kindergartners made fun of Mutaz for his long hair. Sedra, who excelled in school, was taunted, "Hey Syrian girl, why do you think you're better than us?" Boys beat up Haidar and Nazeer.

The question was whether to leave or remain in hopes the war would soon end. Two of Ghazweh's brothers had applied to be resettled in Canada. Now U.N. officials asked Abdul Fattah and Ghazweh if they wanted to be resettled, and why. "I put everything in me into answering this question," Ghazweh said. "I thought, I want my kids to live their lives." Abdul Fattah was reluctant, but Ghazweh pressed him, for the kids.

It does not happen quickly. All refugees who request resettlement in the U.S. must provide biometric and biographical data. They are screened by the National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI, the Defense Department, the State Department and U.S. Customs and Border Protection. Syrians also go through the Syria Enhanced Review, conducted by analysts knowledgeable about the networks of armed groups in the civil war. Vetting takes 18 to 24 months.

The Tameems passed every stage. About two years after they arrived in Jordan, officials called offering resettlement. Ghazweh was so excited, she jumped in the air.

SIX WEEKS AFTER ARRIVING in Iowa, Ghazweh and Abdul Fattah get jobs at a hotel—Ghazweh as a housekeeper from 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., and Abdul Fattah in the kitchen washing dishes from 5 p.m. to 11 p.m. Ghazweh has never had a paying job, but now she wakes before 5 to put on her housekeeper's outfit with a matching blue veil. The ride to the hotel involves two buses and takes about an hour and 45 minutes. Google Maps says the same distance takes 17 minutes by car.

"Housekeeping!" Ghazweh calls out, knocking on door 624. Ghazweh and her partner, an immigrant from Mexico, work at high speed. Ghazweh stuffs the sheets into a blue bin and pulls out fresh ones folded into neat squares. She shakes new pillowcases crisp, then worms each pillow into a tube and encases it. Some days, she says, they clean 36 rooms together.

Ghazweh has already decided she won't work here long. She wants to study English and be home after school to take care of the kids. And as a traditional Arab woman, she says, she feels ashamed entering the bedrooms of strangers. Abdul Fattah hopes to get a second job so they can make their rent. "It's a lot of pressure," he says. In Syria, his earnings as a housepainter in a family business allowed them to own their home and vacation on the Mediterranean. Here, the rent of about $1,570 is more than his monthly take-home.

Only beginning to learn English, without Arabic satellite-TV channels and lacking a laptop or Internet connection, Ghazweh and Abdul Fattah don't know much about the ways immigrants have been talked about in the 2016 election. But they know others are afraid. An Iraqi volunteer helping Syrians has been reassuring other newcomers that America has laws to prevent someone from taking power and behaving like an Arab dictator.

But fear and uncertainty work at the edges of their lives. Marilyn Hansen comes to drop off school supplies and freshly laundered winter coats. She says her sister, a Trump supporter, contributes a good portion of the donations she brings—"she has a real helpful heart." But it's an uneasy generosity. "She did ask me one day if I was ever scared when I was with the families," Hansen says. "I said, 'Absolutely not, there's nothing to be afraid of.'"

Iowa has a long history of welcoming outsiders. The state was populated by families from northern Europe in the 19th century; Syrians came to Cedar Rapids in the late 1800s and helped open one of the nation's oldest mosques in the 1930s. Southeast Asians fleeing war found a home in the state in the '70s, followed by Eastern Europeans,

Bosnians and more recently Somalis, Nepalese, Congolese, Burmese. Yet the prospect of taking in this latest wave of migrants has put many Iowans on edge.

One manager at Ghazweh's hotel, also a Trump supporter, says she's happy to help individual refugees but feels nervous that Syrians are coming to Iowa. "We've let a lot of people in who want to harm us," she says in the hallway, while another immigrant housekeeper vacuums. Some people deserve a safe haven, she allows—"as long as they're not a person that blows up my church."

The controversy over their arrival is largely lost on the Tameems, who, over the course of the summer, begin to feel at home in the heartland. Ghazweh seems to be settling into herself, growing more confident and curious. Long taciturn, Abdul Fattah has become more outgoing. Sometimes when they're out together, he reaches for her hand. Ghazweh wonders if it's his way of expressing appreciation for her efforts to bring them here. "I'm proud of my wife," Abdul Fattah says in August. "She is the ideal woman."

Hala in front of her locker. The elementary school is filled with kids who came to Iowa from some of the world's worst conflicts

The children are beginning to settle in too. Nazeer leads neighborhood kids on exploratory missions, wandering for hours over highways and under bridges to different parts of town. He found a lake and taught himself to fish by watching YouTube videos on an old wi-fi-enabled phone, using bread as bait in a cut-off plastic Coke bottle.

Mike Rother, a welder and Trump supporter who lives across the street, says he had misgivings about living near Syrians but has come to realize his worry was misplaced. "Obviously, they're not bringing anything but children playing outside," he says. "I see kids kicking a soccer ball, riding their bikes, playing with each other. They wave to me and say 'Hi' and want to pet my dog."

AT 5 A.M. on the first day of school, Hala lies in bed in the half-light of a pink lamp on a bedside table. Outside is the crescent moon in a starry sky, the chirp of cicadas. Hala slept in yesterday's clothes, pink leggings and a pink T-shirt. She falls out of bed and stands up, eyes closed, hugging her mother, with that ability of young children to half-sleep while standing.

In the kitchen, Ghazweh boils water and scoops up spoonfuls of Nido, a sweet powdered milk, into five mugs. She sits Hala on her lap and brushes her hair. "Go get the stars," Ghazweh says. Hala comes back with a handful of brightly colored, star-shaped clips, and Ghazweh fastens each into Hala's chestnut hair.

When Mutaz offers her an apple, Hala wrinkles her nose. "My teeth hurt," she whispers. No one has made a dentist appointment—Ghazweh isn't sure whom to ask. Hala leans back, and Ghazweh pours a spoonful of pink Hy-Vee children's ibuprofen into her mouth.

The five children go to three schools. Nazeer is at Hoover High School, where the hallways fill with cheerleaders and football players. Sedra and Haidar are in middle school, and the year opens with a pep rally. "Give me an H! Give me a U!" they scream for the Huskies—though they don't yet understand the idea of a mascot, or the game of football.

Hala and Mutaz's elementary school is new and bright, filled with kids who came to Iowa from some of the most violent places in the world—Somali girls in sherbet-colored *jilbabs,* Salvadoran boys with cropped hair and stuffed backpacks, Congolese girls in new sneakers and braids.

On the twins' bus ride home, the kids divide themselves by nationality—Nepalese in one cluster, Mexicans in another, Hala and Mutaz with a group of other Syrians who arrived after them. It's hot, even with the windows open. The gray vinyl seats are sticky with sweat. "Does anybody get off at 13th?" the bus driver calls out. The children are silent.

"I have never driven a bus where nobody speaks English," the driver says. One student misses her stop. Another gets off a stop before he's supposed to. The bus circles back and radios in, and falls further behind. Hala falls asleep against the window, her brown hair mussed in the humidity, her star clips askew.

Finally, more than two hours late, the bus drives into the Tameems' neighborhood. When Hala and Mutaz open the door, Ghazweh grabs her youngest daughter and buries her face in her hair. "Where were you?" she asks. Ghazweh had been scared. But here were her children, venturing out into the world and coming safely home. A few minutes later, she's laughing again.

The next day, the family goes swimming after school at a lake in Des Moines. The sun is still high in the sky, warm but not too hot. Haidar slips off his shirt and dives in. Ghazweh takes off her shoes and wades in too, laughing as the water darkens her black pants. The boys swim out with a ball and play catch. Hala chases her sister along the shore.

Ghazweh takes stock. They have a future, she says, where they didn't before. They are at a lake in the sun, together, safe. "I'm happy," says Ghazweh, in Arabic, smiling toward Hala. And then she says it again, haltingly, grinning, in English: "I am very happy." ◻

See a video of the family at **time.com/desmoines**

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Time Off

'YOU GOTTA TAKE OFF YOUR WHITE GLOVES, LADIES.' —PAGE 56

Negga and Edgerton, far right, play the Lovings as a normal family living under extraordinary circumstances

BEN ROTHSTEIN—FOCUS FEATURES

MOVIES

The rights of the heart, interpreted with beauty by *Loving*

By Stephanie Zacharek

JUST LAST SPRING, AN OLD NAVY Twitter ad featuring an interracial family prompted a vicious outcry from social-media trolls who were furious at the store for promoting "race mixing." A backlash against the backlash followed, with hundreds of Twitter users posting pictures of their interracial families, a ray of hope that Americans can be motivated by their best impulses. Even so, it doesn't hurt to remember that progressive ideals don't always take shape as quickly as we'd like—or as quickly as we need. We abolished slavery in 1865, but 100 years later it was still illegal for interracial couples to marry in some states.

Maybe that's why Jeff Nichols' beautifully restrained *Loving* feels less like a historical relic than a vital appraisal of what basic rights mean to actual human beings. *Loving* tells the story of Richard and Mildred Loving (Joel Edgerton and Ruth Negga), a white man and a woman of color who married in Washington, D.C., in 1958 and returned home to Central Point, Va., only to be arrested for violating antimiscegenation laws. They were sentenced to one year in prison, though the judge would suspend the sentence for 25 years if the Lovings agreed to leave the state. They moved to D.C., but by 1963 they had become frustrated by the restrictions on their lives—they couldn't travel together to Virginia to visit their families. Mildred wrote a letter to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, whose office referred her to the ACLU. The subsequent *Loving v. Virginia* decision, making interracial marriage legal in all 50 states, was a

landmark for civil rights. On a more granular level, it allowed the Lovings to finally live as spouses in their home state.

Nichols *(Take Shelter, Midnight Special)* makes the Lovings' story feel immediate and modern by illuminating its simplest elements, like the sight of Richard driving off to his job as a brick mason, not just in another town or county but in another state. In one scene, LIFE photographer Grey Villet (Michael Shannon) arrives to photograph the Lovings as they await an appeal on the ruling that drove them from Virginia. They sit in front of the TV, laughing at *The Andy Griffith Show,* when Richard sprawls across the couch, dropping his head in Mildred's lap. Watching from across the room, Villet snaps a picture without peeking through the viewfinder, which might have destroyed the spontaneity. He's a witness, as we are, to this scene of a couple trying to live a normal life under extraordinary circumstances.

Edgerton's Richard is reserved and thoughtful, a man more concerned with providing for his family than being a crusader. His quietude isn't passivity: Edgerton signals, with little more than a bruised glance, his simmering frustration. Negga's Mildred is a powerhouse. Her face has a sun-brushed brightness, even when life turns out to be harder than she ever dreamed. Her glow doesn't fade—it just shifts into something stronger and resolute. She appears to have no idea she's making history, but so often that's how change begins—in the margins.

The real Mildred Loving died in 2008, 33 years after Richard was killed by a drunk driver. *Loving* is a ballad in their honor, a song written in pictures and words about what it means to struggle for essentials that no one should have to fight for. ◻

Richard and Mildred Loving, with their children, in an outtake from a LIFE magazine shoot

HISTORY

Telling the Lovings' story in 1966

THE HEADLINE IN THE MARCH 18, 1966, issue of LIFE magazine described it simply as "The Crime of Being Married." Under those words, two photos: Mildred Loving, then 26, eyes downcast, and her husband Richard, 32, lips pressed tightly together. Both look as if they have received bad news. They had.

"She is Negro, he is white, and they are married. This puts them in a kind of legal purgatory in their home state of Virginia, which specifically forbids interracial marriage," the magazine explained. "Last week Mildred and Richard Loving lost one more round in a seven-year legal battle, when the Virginia Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the state's antimiscegenation law. Once again they and their three children were faced with the loss of home and livelihood."

> 'She is Negro, he is white, and they are married. This puts them in a kind of legal purgatory in their home state of Virginia.'
>
> **LIFE MAGAZINE**, March 18, 1966

Their saga—the subject of the film *Loving*—would end at the Supreme Court with a win for the couple. When LIFE photographer Grey Villet met them, that much was not yet certain.

And yet, despite the initial solemnity of the two opening images, the LIFE photo-essay is mostly a portrait of a happy family. The children laugh and play—as in the photo above, an outtake that did not run with the original story. The adults are happy too, and it's clear why they would fight to stay in their community. (More of Villet's photos of the Lovings can be seen at LIFE.com.)

The intimacy Villet achieved with the couple is why the photos were an important source of inspiration for the makers of *Loving*—and it's also why they stand out as a rare glimpse of what the civil rights movement was fighting for, rather than against. "I can't imagine anybody not being moved by them," says Michael Shannon, who plays Villet in the film.

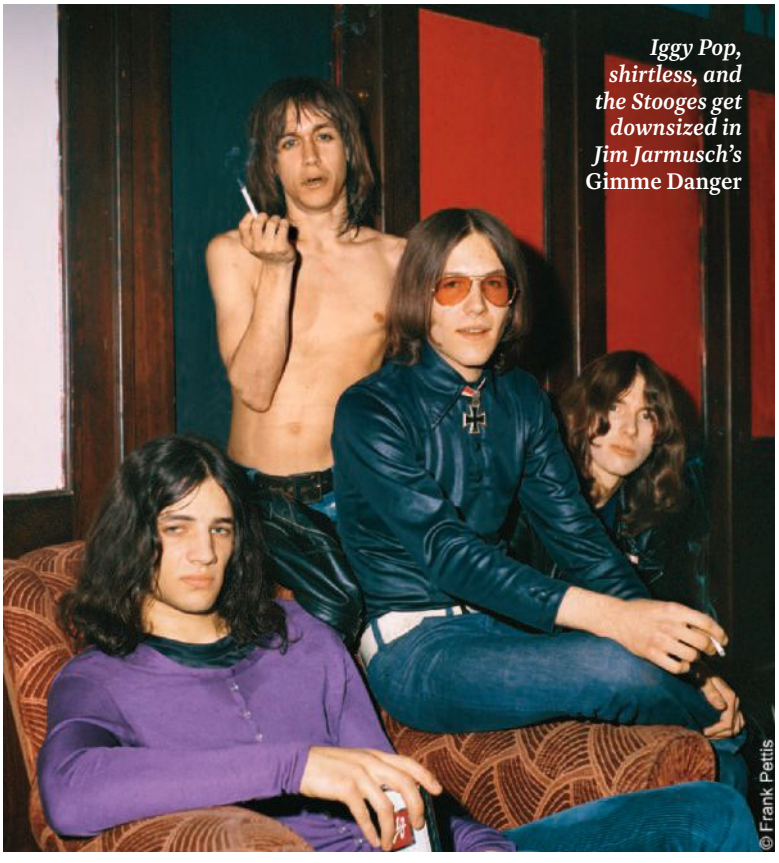
In the article from 1966, Richard Loving is quoted as saying that one day he'll ask the gawkers "what the hell they are staring at" when he and his wife go out. Villet's photos, in their own way, answer that question: what people were staring at was an American family.

—LILY ROTHMAN

MOVIES

In this battle of the bands, Oasis beats Iggy

By Isaac Guzmán



Iggy Pop, shirtless, and the Stooges get downsized in Jim Jarmusch's Gimme Danger

WITH THREE MINOR HITS IN A 50-YEAR CAREER, Iggy Pop was never really a rock star, yet he has become one of rock's most beloved figures. It's not just because he's an arresting front man, having invented the stage dive and the dubious tactic of rolling in broken glass. Nor is it just because he and the Stooges are credited with distilling hard rock into a primitive sound that presaged the punk aesthetic by nearly a decade, or because Iggy (born James Osterberg) is the lone survivor of rock's coolest three-way bromance, with David Bowie and Lou Reed. It's mostly because he's hilarious, reliably retelling maniacal stories with raspy, dry mirth.

So when Jim Jarmusch, the indie director whose career was catalyzed by years in the milieu of New York City's CBGB nightclub, makes a film about Iggy and the Stooges called *Gimme Danger,* it's safe to assume that up in rock heaven, Bowie and Reed just got their wings. Then along come two brats who claim to be in the world's best band: oft-feuding U.K. siblings Liam and Noel Gallagher, who rival Donald Trump for egotism, bad behavior and twisted syntax. Turns out they've got their own movie, *Oasis: Supersonic,* and it's not only better but funnier than the Jarmusch-Iggy-Stooges joint.

Noel, left, and Liam Gallagher are obnoxious but inspiring in Oasis: Supersonic

Directed by Mat Whitecross, *Supersonic* conveys the essential cheek and unbridled power that drive an arena-worthy band. Steeped in the Beatles, the Who and the rave-driven Manchester scene of the early '90s, Oasis broke British sales records while whipping up a tabloid frenzy that feasted on every kerfuffle. "Oasis was like a Ferrari," says quick-to-brawl singer Liam. "Great to look at, great to drive, and it'll f-cking spin out of control every now and again."

With crudely amusing animations, archival interviews and press clippings, Whitecross celebrates the astonishing early years of the band, from garage to smash hits "Wonderwall" and "Champagne Supernova" to a pair of Knebworth House concerts that drew 250,000 fans over two nights in 1996. Wisely, the story stops there, though the band limped on until 2009. This is no *Behind the Music,* with rise, fall and redemption—it's just the fun stuff, up to when guitarist Paul "Bonehead" Arthurs says, "I always thought we should have bowed out after the second night at Knebworth."

Sadly, Jarmusch doesn't know when to call it quits with the Stooges and never matches the intensity of songs such as "I Wanna Be Your Dog" and "Search and Destroy," or the heroin- and booze-fueled chaos of his subjects. The director calls Iggy a "snarling, preening leopard of a front man who somehow embodies Nijinsky, Bruce Lee, Harpo Marx and Arthur Rimbaud." Which is true, but his verbal tribute has more verve than the film.

Things are fine when we're listening to Iggy describe his act—"I just started jumping up and down, like baboons do before they're gonna fight"—or watching him wriggle through a crowd. Everything else is inessential, especially the band's victory-lap reunion after a three-decade hiatus. The Stooges were daring in their prime, but it's hard to glimpse a threat in 50-something dudes getting the band back together in 2003. The real danger turns out to be the stroke, two heart attacks and sepsis that will kill three of them—but not Iggy—within six years of one another.

Jarmusch similarly botched his 1997 Neil Young concert film *Year of the Horse* by merely turning on the camera, making chitchat and letting the legend do his thing. The best rock films, like *Supersonic,* have the director's imprint on every frame. Hanging back and being cooler than cool is a Jarmusch trademark, but when he gets up close with his idols, it's an instinct that makes great artists look smaller than they really are. ◻

LOVING: GREY VILLET; GIMME DANGER: AMAZON/MAGNOLIA; OASIS: GETTY IMAGES

To save the world, Moana, left, teams up with Maui

MOVIES

Disney makes its maiden voyage to the South Pacific

By Eliza Berman

IN MOST ANIMATED DISNEY MOVIES, THERE IS A SONG THAT introduces viewers to the world the characters inhabit. In *Beauty and the Beast,* "Belle" tells of a poor provincial town with smelly fish and stale baguettes. In *The Little Mermaid,* "Under the Sea" describes an aquatic haven where crustaceans and carp are "devotin' full time to floatin'." True to form, *Moana,* Disney's new animated tale, in theaters Nov. 23, features a scene-setting tune, but somehow the stakes feel higher. "Know Who You Are" takes the audience on a tour of Motunui, a fictional South Pacific island drawn from several ancient Polynesian cultures. The villagers sing of their facility in basket weaving and fishing, offer warnings not to trip on taro roots and count their abundant uses for a coconut. But beyond mere details about the local flora, the lyrics bespeak a Disney movie that may be more rooted in its sense of place than any that have preceded it.

Moana is Disney's first Polynesian heroine. Dreamed up by veteran directors Ron Clements and John Musker, the duo behind *The Little Mermaid* and *Aladdin,* the story follows its teenage protagonist on a journey to save the world, with the help of a tattooed demigod. The idea began with a fascination with Herman Melville's and Paul Gauguin's visions of the South Pacific, which inspired a deep dive into the region's mythology. It was not lost on Clements and Musker that they were two white men crafting a tale about a Polynesian girl, and a 19th century colonial lens wasn't going to get them very far. So five years ago, they set out for Tahiti, Samoa and Fiji to convene with linguists, choreographers and village chiefs.

FACES OF *MOANA*
New Zealand filmmaker Taika Waititi, whose résumé includes his home country's two top-grossing movies and the just wrapped *Thor: Ragnarok,* wrote *Moana*'s first draft

They hired half-Maori New Zealander Taika Waititi as the first screenwriter and the Tokelauan-Tuvaluan musician Opetaia Foa'i to work on the soundtrack. They cast actors of Polynesian descent—Auli'i Cravalho, Dwayne Johnson, Rachel House—in nearly every part.

The directors focused on the theme of voyaging because, as Musker recalls of the Fijian sailors they met, "It was very much a source of pride to them that they were the world's greatest navigators." They cast Johnson as the shape-shifting demigod Maui, a prominent figure in pan-Pacific mythology.

Cravalho, who is Hawaiian, recalls feeling trepidation at the project's outset: "I was a little wary, which I think anyone would be if they heard that a movie would be even inspired by their culture. We want it to be done right." There are those who, even before its release, feel it hasn't been. Some say Maui's corpulence plays on offensive stereotypes of Polynesians. Recently, Disney apologized for and pulled a Maui costume—which featured a brown tattooed bodysuit—in response to criticism that it constituted full-body brownface and disrespected the sacred tradition of Maori tattoos.

Such scrutiny is familiar to a studio that introduced its first nonwhite princesses in the 1990s and has since strived to correct course on matters of cultural representation. But when it comes to *Moana,* the loudest cry by far is one of relief. "Can Disney release *Moana* faster so I can finally have a princess that looks like me?" tweeted one high schooler in July. The water's been a little choppy, but she's almost here. ◻

MOANA: DISNEY; WAITITI: GETTY IMAGES

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TIME PICKS

BOOKS
In her first book, ***Scrappy Little Nobody*** (Nov. 15), Oscar-nominated actor Anna Kendrick writes essays about her life in the witty, self-deprecating voice that's made her a must-follow on Twitter.

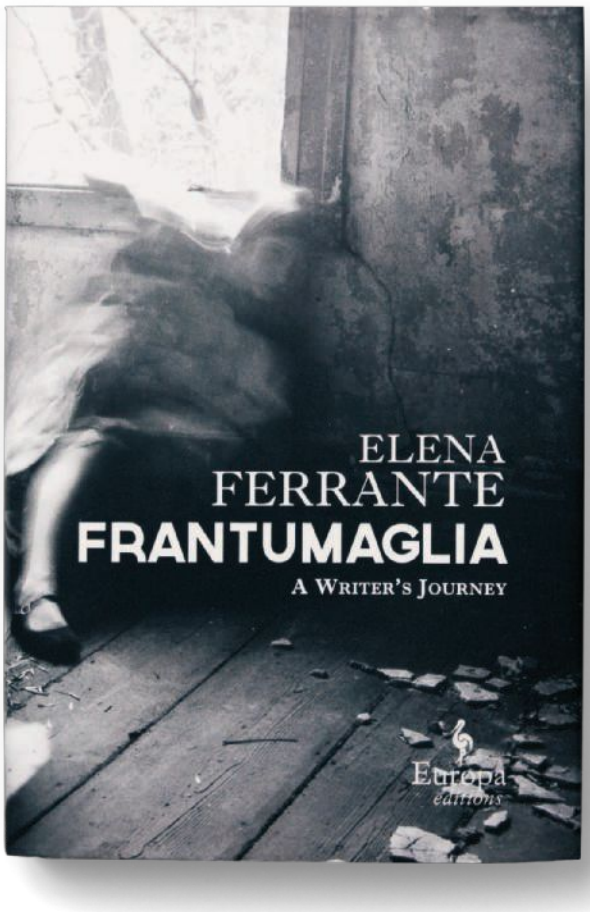
MUSIC
Sting returns to a rock-centric sound on his contemplative 12th solo album, *57th and 9th* (Nov. 11), which the former Police front man recorded at that New York City intersection.

TELEVISION
For the fifth season of truTV's ***Billy on the Street*** (Nov. 15), Billy Eichner returns to quiz unsuspecting New Yorkers on pop-culture trivia, alongside guest stars like Aziz Ansari and Jon Hamm.

MOVIES
In the Netflix documentary ***The Ivory Game*** (Nov. 4), executive producer Leonardo DiCaprio explores the ivory-tusk trade in China and Africa.

The real Elena Ferrante surfaces—in books

By Sarah Begley



BIG-NAME BOOK RELEASES ARE typically greeted with fanfare and enthusiasm. Midnight *Harry Potter* release parties? Sure. International book tours that keep authors on the road for months? Yep. The dual publication of Elena Ferrante's *Frantumaglia,* her new collected writings, and *The Beach at Night,* her edgy children's book, is remarkable not only for volume of events but for star power: 64 independent bookstores will host coordinated events across the U.S. Some will feature American authors, like Garth Risk Hallberg (in Jersey City, N.J.) and Bethanne Patrick (in Washington, D.C.). Some will feature celebrities, like John Turturro (in Brooklyn). Some will have panels; some will have group discussions; some, like Brazos Bookstore in Houston, will have prosecco. But none will have the author.

The Italian novelist has been known only by her pseudonym since her first book, *Troubling Love,* came out in 1992. At the time, Ferrante wrote to her publisher that she believed "books, once they are written, have no need of their authors." She has guarded her privacy with great care ever since, even as her popularity increased with each volume in her best-selling Neapolitan quartet, a series that began with *My Brilliant Friend.* And she seems determined to maintain that privacy even after Italian journalist Claudio Gatti claimed on the *New York Review of Books* website and in other publications to have unmasked her true identity in early October: translator Anita Raja, tracked down by financial and real estate records.

Speculation about Ferrante's identity intensified with the success of the Neapolitan novels: Raja's husband Domenico Starnone and Marcella Marmo, a professor in Naples, have been popular guesses. Ferrante's publisher has neither confirmed nor denied Gatti's claim. But Gatti's report, which was published in several European papers, has been widely denounced by Ferrante fans, including many of those preparing to fete her new works stateside. "This was a violation," says Judith Thurman, a staff writer for the *New Yorker* who will appear on a panel at Brooklyn's Community Bookstore. "And it was very much in line with the sort of violations of women that Ferrante writes about."

The Neapolitan quartet tells the story of two friends growing up in postwar Naples who must fend off physical violence and sexual aggression as they try to escape to a better life. *Frantumaglia* and *The Beach at Night* deal with some of the same themes, albeit in very different ways: *The Beach at Night,* a creepy children's book more reminiscent of the Brothers Grimm than of Mother Goose, follows a doll who goes on a macabre adventure after her owner forgets her by the shore. The audiobook version, narrated by Natalie Portman, generated controversy because it did not censor some of the mature language, like *shit.*

Frantumaglia, a collection of adult nonfiction, comprises letters, interviews (by email) and essays. Most of the material focuses on the writing process, and Thurman predicts it will appeal largely to "scholars and hardcore Ferrante fans." In *Frantumaglia,* as in her fiction, the novelist illuminates the particular problems for women in the world, writing about how they "have to hold too many things together and often sacrifice their aspirations in the name of affections."

Women have driven Ferrante sales in America—at Community Bookstore, co-owner Ezra Goldstein says, about 90% of Ferrante customers are women. But even without as much male interest, the books have meant a lot to indie bookstores. *My Brilliant Friend* was Community Bookstore's top-selling book in 2015. Jon Purves, director of marketing and publicity at Politics and Prose in Washington, D.C., says indies have been "a key driver of the popularity of these books, because [sellers] have been enthusiastically recommending them to customers with so much passion." Each bookseller uses the same phrase to explain the Ferrante sales phenomenon: word of mouth. "It was one woman telling another woman, 'You absolutely have to read this book,'" Goldstein says.

> 'It was one woman telling another woman, "You absolutely have to read this book."'
>
> **EZRA GOLDSTEIN**, bookstore owner, on the Ferrante phenomenon

The novelist Roxana Robinson *(Cost, Sparta)* describes Ferrante as "one of the great writers of the 21st century," a designation she feels confident about "even [just] 16 years in." But some admirers worry that we've already seen the last of Ferrante's novels. The author had warned that she would stop writing if her identity were revealed. Some fans say there's not much cause for concern—rumors that Raja was the real Ferrante have been passed around in Italy for years, so this new report may not change her mode of writing. Hallberg *(City on Fire)* believes Ferrante's drive to write is too strong to quit: "Here is a writer of such tremendous imagination and such tremendous passion that even if this were to throw a wrench into the writing process for even, say, 10 years—which would be terrible—I just think this is someone who has something that's gotta get out."

Ferrante's acclaimed translator, *New Yorker* editor Ann Goldstein (no relation to Ezra), points out that Ferrante says she will always be writing, "but she might decide not to publish anything." The translator is among the legions wishing otherwise, though: "I hope that she's sitting at home writing a great novel that she will decide to publish in a year or so." ◻

The light isn't pink anymore but violet. The sand is cooling.
I'm very sad, and angry, too.
I don't like this cat Mimì, in fact I hate him. Even his name is ugly. I hope he has diarrhea, and vomits, and stinks so much that Mati is grossed out and gets rid of him. By this time I should have had a bath with her, and be at dinner with the whole family, eating from her spoon, a mouthful for Mati and one for me.
Instead I'm here, belly up like this Beetle, and I have to listen to the horrible song of the Mean Beach Attendant of Sunset.
It's getting dark. There are no stars and no moon, either. The sound of the sea is louder now.
It's damp. I'll catch cold. Mati always tells me: "If you catch cold, you'll get a fever." She says it exactly the way her mother says it to her. Because Mati and I are also mother and daughter.
So it's impossible that she's forgotten me. As soon as she realizes I'm still here on the beach, she'll certainly come and get me. Maybe it's just a game she invented to scare me.
11

THE IVORY GAME: NETFLIX

Crimes of the heart

Like many of his novels, Spanish author Javier Marías' new book, *Thus Bad Begins,* isn't exactly a mystery, though it is mysterious. Here, the 65-year-old perennial Nobel favorite tells the story of Juan de Vere, a young man working for a film director, Eduardo Muriel. The older man assigns his apprentice the task of finding out a secret about a longtime friend. Meanwhile, de Vere is intrigued by the cold relationship between Muriel and his depressed wife Beatriz—at some point in their past, she did something unforgivable, also a secret, and de Vere wants to find out what.

Marías *(The Infatuations, A Heart So White)* makes hypnotic use of discursive prose, punctuating almost every action and piece of dialogue with a long, philosophical interrogation that somehow never detracts from the story's drama. No story is new, de Vere says—the ways we wrong one another have all been seen before by "the cold moon, which dozes and observes with just one eye open." But that doesn't make tales of conflict and betrayal any less fascinating to those of us walking the earth.

As de Vere and Muriel try to get to the heart of matters, they discover secrets they wish they hadn't, events they wish only the "sentinel moon" had witnessed. "When you give up trying to know what you cannot know," says Muriel, "perhaps, to paraphrase Shakespeare, perhaps that is when bad begins, but, on the other hand, worse remains behind." The characters may wish they'd closed their eyes and covered their ears, but the reader will devour every exquisitely wretched revelation. —*S.B.*

2016
Anna Camp, Erin Darke and Genevieve Angelson portray fictional versions of the women who filed a groundbreaking lawsuit at Newsweek

TELEVISION

The real-life rebellion behind Amazon's *Good Girls Revolt*

By Eliana Dockterman

THEY WERE HIGHLY EDUCATED WOMEN, SOME GRADUATES of Ivy League journalism programs. But at *Newsweek* magazine in the 1960s, they delivered packages, cut out newspaper clippings and, if they were lucky, did reporting for articles that only men were actually allowed to write. They suffered the typical sexism of the *Mad Men* era—the researchers on the nation desk were called "the Dollies"—but they were also routinely barred from becoming writers and editors themselves. In 1970, the Dollies decided they were fed up. On the day *Newsweek* ran a cover story about the feminist movement, 46 of the magazine's female employees filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) claiming they were "forced to assume a subsidiary role" because of their gender.

Amazon has resurrected their insurrection in the new series *Good Girls Revolt,* based on a book of the same name by Lynn Povich, one of the women who joined the suit. The show, which premiered Oct. 28, takes small liberties to deliver larger truths. In the first episode, Nora Ephron (played by Grace Gummer, daughter of Ephron pal Meryl Streep) quits the fictionalized *News of the Week* when an editor tells her women cannot write stories. In reality, Ephron quit years before the suit, pursuing a goal ahead of its time. "In school most of us were told that we're bright, we're capable. But the word *career* was never spoken," says Povich.

1970
From left: Pat Lynden, Mary Pleshette, attorney Eleanor Holmes Norton and Lucy Howard at a press conference about the discrimination suit

When they realized *Newsweek*'s hiring practices were illegal, the women began to envision careers as writers. They recruited colleagues to their cause in the women's bathroom and solicited advice from Eleanor Holmes Norton, an attorney who is now in Congress. "You gotta take off your white gloves, ladies," Norton told them, according to Povich's book. "You goddamn middle-class women—you think you can just go to Daddy and ask for what you want?"

In the show Genevieve Angelson plays the fictional researcher Patti, who leads the movement. "Lynn's was a generation of activism. My generation takes that for granted," says Angelson. "Imagine the self-confidence it takes to envision a future for yourself that you don't know you can achieve."

After two lawsuits *Newsweek* promised that by the end of 1974, one-third of the magazine's writers would be women. Povich went on to become the first female senior editor at the magazine—though initially with a lower salary than her male colleagues. Equal pay continues to be an issue. A 2012 Indiana University study found the median salary for women journalists was 17% lower than for men.

The show feels particularly timely in the wake of sexual harassment complaints against ex–Fox News CEO and onetime Donald Trump adviser Roger Ailes, and the candidate himself. "The fact that our election is dominated by these issues is horrifying, but it's also good we're talking about it in public," says Povich. "The timing seems so propitious." □

GOOD GIRLS REVOLT: AMAZON; 1970: GETTY IMAGES

Fifteen days after winning the Nobel Prize for Literature, Bob Dylan **finally broke his silence:**

‘It’s hard to believe … amazing, incredible. Who ever dreams about something like that?’

New York City’s Museum of Modern Art is **adding all 176 original emojis to its permanent collection.** They were released in 1999 by Japanese carrier NTT DoCoMo.

Lady Gaga’s latest album, *Joanne,* **debuted atop the *Billboard* 200,** making her the first and only woman to log four No. 1 albums in the 2010s.

A gem dealer in India has **pledged to give away 1,260 cars and 400 homes** to his staff as a Diwali holiday bonus.

A Burger King in New York City decided to get in the Halloween spirit by **dressing itself up as a “ghost” of McDonald’s.**

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

***TIME*’S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

A Ukrainian man **officially changed his name to iPhone Sim** (or *7,* in Ukrainian) in an attempt to win one as part of a local store promotion.

Justin Bieber **walked offstage during a concert in England** because of his fans’ high-pitched hysteria. “The screaming in these breaks has got to stop,” the pop star said before dropping the mic.

Twitter announced that **it is shutting down Vine,** the popular video-looping app that allows users to upload and watch six-second clips.

Hilary Duff’s pilgrim-and-Indian couple’s costume (with boyfriend Jason Walsh) was **widely criticized as racially insensitive.** The actor later apologized.

The head of Britain’s Secret Intelligence Service said **James Bond would never get a job as a spy** at the real MI6:

‘MI6 officers are not for taking moral shortcuts. In fact, a strong ethical core is one of the first qualities we look for in our staff.’

BURGER KING: TWITTER; VINE; JAMES BOND: EVERETT; EMOJIS, UKRAINIAN MAN: AP; LADY GAGA, DYLAN, NOBEL PRIZE, CAR, DUFF, BIEBER: GETTY IMAGES

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

Sparkling Stitching

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There is such a thing as too much voting, and it's going on in my neighborhood

By Joel Stein

WHEN I MOVED TO LOS ANGELES 11 YEARS AGO, I KNEW I'D have certain responsibilities: hiking, smiling, pretending medical advice doesn't need to come from a doctor. I did not know, however, that in order to be able to pull the infinite levers in the voting booth, I'd have to build my forearm muscles. This, I believe, is why L.A. created the porn industry.

My mailbox was hard to open the day this year's California voter's guide arrived. It is a record 224 pages, not including my separate 96-page L.A. guide. In California, we elect our insurance commissioner, superintendent of public construction and the board of equalization, which is a board that is in charge of equalizing things. We are voting on whether porn actors have to use condoms, *for my second time since moving here*. Hamilton and Madison crafted a republic to avoid this kind of direct democracy specifically because they feared children might overhear news shows discussing whether porn actors should wear condoms.

Jessica Levinson, a Loyola law professor who assigns an election-law textbook that is shorter than this year's voter's guide, says our democracy has run amok. "People say, 'I never know who to vote for.' Then we say, 'O.K., we'll let the governor appoint them.' Then they say, 'I don't trust the governor to do that.' Voters have a lot of faith in themselves," she says. That's because of the illusory-superiority bias, which also makes everyone think they're an above-average driver and an above-average understander of the Wikipedia entry on "illusory superiority."

WHEN I ASKED LEVINSON if she knew who she was voting for in the Susan Jung Townsend–vs.–Javier Perez race for County Superior Court Judge seat 84, she said she didn't yet, since she scheduled from 8:45 to 10:45 a.m. on Sunday to make a spreadsheet to determine her choices. Likewise, I asked Mike Murphy, Republican political consultant and member of the board of advisers for the nonpartisan voter information site BallotReady.org, if he'd made all his selections for his L.A. ballot. "Hell, no. I do some late web searching on the big stuff and then either vote party line, skip or vote for the candidate with the hardest-to-spell name," he said, following a policy of helping out those unfairly disadvantaged. "When in doubt, I go old-school American politics and just vote—in nonparty elections—for the Irish guy." This is the kind of voter behavior that will one day lead to the terrifying reign of Board of Equalization member Siobhan O'Isthmus.

To explain each of the 17 state ballot initiatives, Kim Alexander, founder of the nonpartisan California Voter Foundation, released her seventh Proposition Song; this one is over five minutes long. "This ballot has something for everyone," she told me. "We have drugs and guns and pot and porn and the death penalty." And yet, for reasons that must have to do with her ukulele skills, she did not record it as a rap song.

Alexander told me that one problem with distributing 10.8 million copies of a voter's guide in 10 languages is that many candidates can't afford to pay the fee to the state required to print their statement, so they leave it blank. She told me that the state fee for a candidate's 250-word statement is $6,250. For a mere rounding error, they could afford my rate. I had no doubt I could totally beat prose such as "Susan Jung Townsend is the experienced, dedicated and competent choice for Superior Court Judge." Writing for the voter's guide would be my lifeboat out of journalism.

THE LAST ITEM on my ballot is District Measure GG, in which people in my neighborhood would pay $35 a year for 10 years to maintain our mountains, which seems less like a ballot measure and more like a door-to-door candy sale. The pro argument in the voter guide is co-written by five people, one of whom is the actor Ed Begley Jr. He told me the writing gig was really easy, and that he was getting some good response on his other piece in the voter's guide against City Measure RRR. "I'm hoping to weigh in on a lot of measures. I think it's going to be a good career move," he said. He figured if I wrote some, he'd attach his name and we'd both get a boost.

What I really want, though, is to write an intro for the next voter's guide. Sam Mahood in the Secretary of State's office said he'd keep me in mind. Then he added: "Everyone is on staff under government salary so they're not getting a by-the-word fee." Sure, for now. Until I get a ballot initiative passed that says otherwise. ◻

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

J.D. Vance The *Hillbilly Elegy* author and champion of an oft-maligned group talks Trump, Clinton and the white working class on the eve of the election

How did we get to a point where the white working class feels so disconnected from the rest of the country? If you're white working class, it's very easy to caricature the elites, and if you're elite, it's very easy to caricature the white working class. The increasing segregation we have in our country geographically and culturally has led to these pretty monolithic views of different classes of people, and because of that, we've lost a certain amount of cultural cohesion.

How has this election laid bare some of these fractures? The white working class is really frustrated with Republican elites, not just Democratic elites. So one of [Donald] Trump's real sources of strength is not just that he took the fight to the elites in an abstract way, but that he was the one guy on a stage of 16 candidates who really seemed culturally disconnected from the other candidates.

Do you think that running against the concept of political correctness has helped Trump? It gives people something to really grab on to and say, "I identify with that guy." Even if I don't identify with where he came from, or with his inherited money, he conducts himself in a way that I might conduct myself if I were talking about politics among family and friends.

In your book, you talk about how your grandparents had an unshakable faith in the American Dream. Do you think that sense of optimism has been corroded? People have lost their faith that if they work hard, if they try to get ahead, if they play by the rules, then that will ultimately result in positive outcomes.

How does Trump's idea of a "rigged" election play into that pessimism? I don't know that the rigged-election stuff plays into the pessimism around their economic prospects so much as it plays into their pessimism that other people are setting the rules.

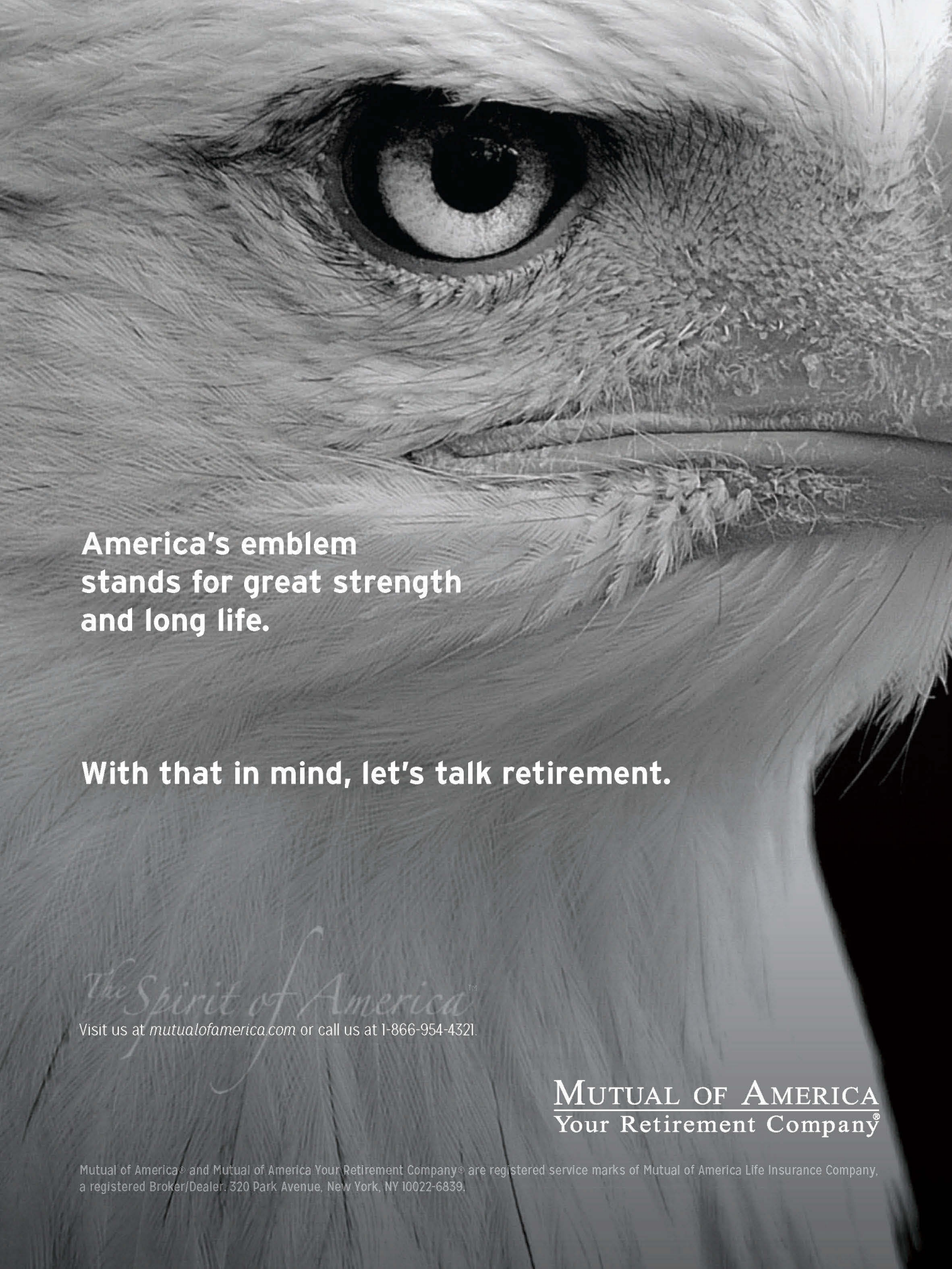
What's the danger of continuing on this path of disenfranchisement? You have even higher rates of divorce, even higher rates of opioid addiction, even lower rates of high school completion. It's a path to a permanent underclass.

Are you optimistic that this group will be brought back into the fold? I'm a little pessimistic, honestly. I see the way Republican and Democratic elites are primed to react. On the Republican side, it's a "See, I told you so." On the Democratic side, it's "Look at those racist rednecks, they nominated their candidate and now he's going down in flames, and we're going to spend the next four years moralizing." If that's the direction, then I think the white working class is going to become more isolated and all of the problems we've talked about just become bigger.

What needs to happen to bring them back into the economy? Policies that promote better wages and better jobs would be super-helpful, and I'm a big fan of programs that encourage people to go where jobs are.

What should the next President do to reach the white working class? Recognize that you're not talking to somebody who's especially optimistic about their future. You're talking to somebody who feels very afraid about what's next. Just being sympathetic and cognizant of that fear is very powerful and has been a big part of Trump's appeal. [And if Hillary Clinton wins], instead of castigating half of Trump supporters as a "basket of deplorables," a better strategy is to recognize that most people have offensive views about one topic or another, and that folks are a lot more complicated than deplorable or not deplorable. Trump's biggest failure as a political leader is that he sees the worst in people and he encourages the worst in people. —TESSA BERENSON

NAOMI MCCOLLOCH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